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THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE.

Dürer's painting (1510), showing the insignia of later Emperors. Contemporary portraits all show Charlemagne without a beard.

ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

ESSENTIALS

IN

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

(FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT DAY)

BY

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NEW YORK ·:· CINCINNATI ·:· CHICAGO
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

940.1

ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

A SERIES PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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ESSENTIALS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

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ESSENTIALS IN MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

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ESSENTIALS IN ENGLISH HISTORY

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ESSEN. MED. & MOD. HIST.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE advantage of a study of general European history is too obvious for discussion. The Committee of Seven, in its programme, strongly recommends that a year be given to mediæval and modern European history; and a large number of schools have for years provided such a course. Nowadays, when the United States of America has distinctly taken a place as one of the factors which are to shape the future of mankind, it is more than ever important that Americans should understand the development and meaning of European history.

Following the suggestion of the Committee of Seven, Professor Harding has begun his work with a survey of the world as it was in the year 800, thus closely relating the book to the last chapter of Wolfson's *Essentials in Ancient History*. In the first few chapters, Professor Harding attacks and surmounts what are for young people the three most difficult problems in mediæval history, — the feudal state, the church, and the rivalry between the empire and the church. He addresses himself to the underlying ideas in the minds of mediæval man, especially to the need of combination and union which gave rise to the feudal system, and to the need of a religious center and of an organized and powerful church to protect it.

As in the other volumes of this series, "the essentials" have been sought, leaving out details, however interesting and graphic in themselves, which do not contribute to a knowledge of the great movements of the world's history, or do not significantly illustrate them. The effort is constantly to describe the events and characterize the persons that really made history.

Professor Harding's plan has been to take Italy, France, Germany, and England in turn, as each becomes the central figure on the world's stage. Furthermore, he has seized upon the idea that the nations of the nineteenth century are not less important than those of the twelfth or the sixteenth; and he discusses the greatness of England, and the unification of Italy and Germany, and the present organization of

Europe under control of the concert of powers, on the same plane as the Crusades, or the Thirty Years' War, or the age of Louis XIV.

As in the preceding volume on the *Essentials in Ancient History* and the two succeeding volumes on *Essentials in English History* and *Essentials in American History*, this book contains little pedagogic apparatus, and the teacher is left free to use the devices here suggested or any others that he may approve. A brief appendix shows a list of books costing about twenty-five dollars which may well be on the teacher's desk and accessible to all pupils, besides a more comprehensive list suitable for a school or town library.

The bibliographical references are thrown into convenient form at the end of each chapter, where will be found specific references of three kinds: first, to secondary authorities; second, to sources, especially reprints and selections in English which can actually be used by schools; third, to illustrative works, such as tales and stories connected with the period. These references, which have been carefully selected out of a large body of material, will be found convenient by teachers in making their own preparation and by pupils in collateral reading and in written work.

The work of the pupil outside of the class room and the study of the text are aided by two kinds of subjects for topics. The Suggestive Topics can be answered from ordinary histories and books of reference, such as cyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, and the like; and they are closely connected with the text of the preceding chapter. The Search Topics expect a wider range of material, including sources, for which the accompanying references will be available. They are adapted for written reports and library exercises.

It is to be supposed that every teacher who uses this book will possess the three little handbooks, *The Study of History in Schools*, prepared by the Committee of Seven, and the *Historical Sources in Schools* and the *History Syllabus for Secondary Schools*, both prepared by special committees of the New England History Teachers' Association. All of these books are intended to enable the teacher to use the time of preparation to the best advantage.

The maps and pictures, specially prepared or selected for this volume, are intended to illustrate actual things, to make the text more clear and understandable, but in this respect, as in all others, the teacher is left free to apply the helps printed in the book according to his own knowledge and preference.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE AUTHOR TO THE TEACHER

The problem of history is to understand the past, — of each event or institution we want to know, as Ranke says, "How that really was" (*Wie es eigentlich gewesen*); and the function of the teacher is to direct and assist the pupil to the gaining of this understanding. There is no royal road to its attainment; the means used must be thorough preparation on the part of the teacher, a constant striving to find the pupil's point of view, unwearying patience, and ceaseless drill. The author ventures, however, to suggest a few evident aids from his own experience as a teacher.

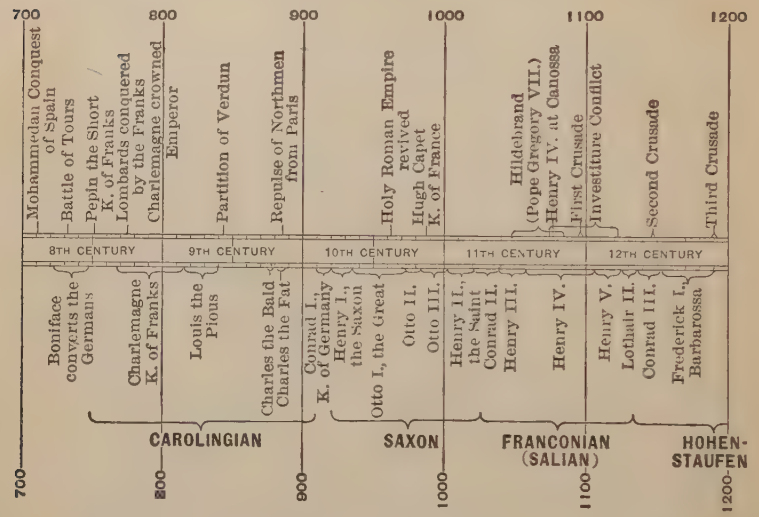
1. Make sure, he would urge, that the pupil understands what he reads and recites, and lead him to penetrate back of the narrative to the things themselves, — to realize, *visualize* history. The simplest words and expressions sometimes prove difficult; it is always desirable to lead the pupil away from the language of the book to his own expression.

2. Require the keeping of note-books for class notes and dictations, collateral reading, and analyses by the pupil of chapters in the text.

3. Use should be made of text- and wall-maps in the preparation and recitation of lessons; and from time to time the teacher should require the filling in of outline maps, for different epochs, showing physical features, towns, battles, boundaries, etc. Unlocalized knowledge in history is nebulous knowledge; and in map work the principle of "learning by doing" is indispensable. Excellent outline maps are published by the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia; and the "Ivanhoe" note-books (Atkinson & Mentzer, Chicago) may be found useful.

4. The memorizing of a mass of unrelated dates is not advised, though a sufficient number of dates must be mastered to serve as landmarks: rather exercise pupils in grasping the sequence and other time relations of events, — drilling them, for example, in estimating the distance in time between events in the same and in different series. A useful device is the preparation by pupils of a chart (on paper strips about eight inches wide, or on the blackboard), divided

into centuries and decades, as below; it is improved by the use of different colored inks or crayons: —



5. Pictures of historical places, things, and persons greatly aid instruction. Collections of these may easily be made from old magazines and similar sources, and should be mounted on uniform sheets of cardboard and classified. Older pupils can usually assist in the making and keeping of such a collection.

All this is presented merely as suggestion, not dogmatically. If the teacher is really a teacher, knows his subject and loves to teach it, like Sentimental Tommy he will surely "find a way." The only fair test, for teacher and book alike, is the test by results.

In conclusion the author must acknowledge his indebtedness to his colleague, Professor Amos S. Hershey, who read the greater part of the manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions; and to his former pupils, Mr. Frederic A. Ogg and Mr. Charles E. Payne, for assistance in preparing the references.

SAMUEL BANNISTER HARDING.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	Introduction: the World in the Year 800	11
	EMPIRE AND PAPACY	
II.	The Empire of Charlemagne (768–814)	32
III.	The Later Carolingian Empire (814–911) and the Feudal System	45
IV.	Successors of the Carolingians in Germany and France	63
V.	The Church in the Middle Ages	77
VI.	The Franconian Emperors. Hildebrand, and the Investiture Conflict (1024–1125)	98
	AGE OF THE CRUSADES	
VII.	The Christian and Mohammedan East, and the First Crusade (1096–1099)	114
VIII.	The Later Crusades (1099–1291)	129
IX.	The Hohenstaufen Empire and the Italian Communes (1125–1190)	145
X.	End of the Hohenstaufen Empire (1190–1268)	162
XI.	Life in the Mediæval Castle, Village, and Town	171
	RISE OF NATIONAL STATES	
XII.	England in the Middle Ages (449–1377)	191
XIII.	The Rise of France (987–1337)	211
XIV.	The Hundred Years' War (1337–1453)	229
XV.	Development of Modern States (1254–1500)	246
	RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION	
XVI.	The Great Church Councils and the Renaissance (1300–1517)	264
XVII.	The Reformation in Germany (1517–1555)	286
XVIII.	The Reformation in Other Lands, and the Counter Reformation (1518–1610)	301
XIX.	The United Netherlands and the Thirty Years' War (1568–1648)	323
	THE OLD RÉGIME	
XX.	The Age of Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	347
XXI.	Constitutional Monarchy in England (1603–1760)	368
XXII.	Northern and Eastern Europe (1689–1748)	392
XXIII.	The Age of Frederick the Great (1748–1786)	411

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

		PAGE
XXIV.	The French Revolution (1789–1795)	434
XXV.	The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte (1795–1804)	460
XXVI.	The Napoleonic Empire (1804–1815)	474
XXVII.	Industrial Development, Political Reaction, and Revolution (1815–1830)	495
XXVIII.	The Orleans Monarchy and the Upheaval of Europe (1830–1848)	513

DEMOCRACY AND EXPANSION

XXIX.	Napoleon III. and the Unification of Italy and Germany (1851–1871)	529
XXX.	Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century	553
XXXI.	National Rivalries and the New Concert of the Powers (1871–1900)	577
XXXII.	The Awakening of the East, and the Twentieth Century	599

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . i, iii

INDEX xiii

REFERENCE MAPS

Physical Map of Europe . 14, 15
Europe in the Time of Charlemagne (768–814) . 30, 31
Partition of Verdun (843) . 47
Mohammedans, Christians, and Pagans about 600–814 and about 1100 . 62
Holy Roman Empire in the 10th and 11th Centuries . 64
Mediæval Monasteries, Bishoprics, and Archbishoprics . 82
Europe about the Time of the First Crusade (1097) 112, 113
Crusaders' States in Syria . 129
Saladin's Empire, and Results of the Fourth Crusade . 138
Lombard and Tuscan Leagues 154
Mediæval Commerce and Textile Industries . 184, 185
England in 878 . 192
English Possessions in France, 1180–1429 . 228
Growth of the Swiss Confederation . 249
States of the Empire in 1477 252, 253
Europe in 1556 . 284, 285
The Netherlands . 324
Territorial Gains in the Peace of Westphalia . 339
France: Acquisitions of Louis XIV. . 350
Russia: Conquests of Peter the Great . 393
Growth of Prussia . 401, 426
Partitions of Poland . 424
War Districts, 1740–1763 . 410
Europe in 1789 . 432, 433
War Districts, 1788–1815 . 459
Europe in 1815 . 488, 489
Races of Austria-Hungary . 523
Growth of the Italian Kingdom 534
The Modern German Empire . 547
Products of the British Isles . 554
The British Empire . 566, 567
Europe in 1900 . 576
Balkan States (1878–1881) . 578
Africa in 1900 . 585
Asia in 1905 . 600, 601

ESSENTIALS IN MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: THE WORLD IN THE YEAR 800

THE division of history into periods is difficult, for two reasons: (1) Changes in history, like changes of the seasons, are gradual, each period merging into the next as imperceptibly as winter into spring. (2) Progress does not take place with equal rapidity in all fields: now artistic activity, now scientific thought, now industrial development, now political organization, forges ahead, while other activities lag behind; now one nation leads, now another. It is difficult to find dates as division points which mark important changes in all these various fields, just as it is difficult to divide a man's life into periods of childhood, youth, manhood, and old age; yet the divisions are real and important.

1. Periods of history

The term "Middle Ages" is often used to cover the whole period from the beginning of the barbarian invasions about 375 A.D., or the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in 476 A.D., to the discovery of America in 1492, or the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In reality three distinct epochs are comprised in this period: (1) The period from about 375 to about 800 was an epoch of transition, to which the term "the Dark Age" may perhaps be applied; it is the time when the invading Germans and the subjects of the Roman Empire were being fused into one people, and when the remains of classical civilization, the institutions of the Germanic barbarians, and Christianity were combining to form

2. Scope of this book

the culture of mediæval Europe. (2) The typical Middle Age begins with the revival of the Western Empire by Charlemagne (800) and lasts till about 1300; it is the age of feudalism, of the might of a church organization ruling every form of human activity, of great struggles between Popes and Emperors. (3) The third division is an epoch of transition, from about 1300 to about 1500; it is the time of the Renaissance, or "rebirth," when men's minds were made more free, and when state, church, art, literature, industry, and society took on new forms. The first of these divisions (375–800) is included in the scope of the first volume of this series (see p. 5); the second and third, together with the whole period of Modern history, since 1500, are dealt with in this book.

For us, history is the study of the achievements of European peoples and of their relations with other peoples. India, China, and Japan have civilizations and histories of their own, which bear little on European history. In the Middle Ages, America and Australia were unknown to Europe; of Africa the Mediterranean regions alone were known; and the more distant parts of Asia were revealed only through indirect trade, through westward raids of Asiatic hordes, and through vague reports brought back by a few adventurous missionaries and traders It is only since the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the accompanying expansion of trade and settlement, that Western civilization has passed beyond the limits of Europe and of Mediterranean Africa and Asia.

3. Geography of Europe

Europe is the smallest of the grand divisions of the earth save Australia, but historically it is the most important. It extends from about 36° to 71° north latitude, or from about the latitude of Cape Hatteras on the Atlantic coast of the United States to that of northernmost Alaska; its climate is much milder than that of the eastern parts of North America and Asia in corresponding latitudes. Its coast line is much broken; its surface is diversified by mountain and

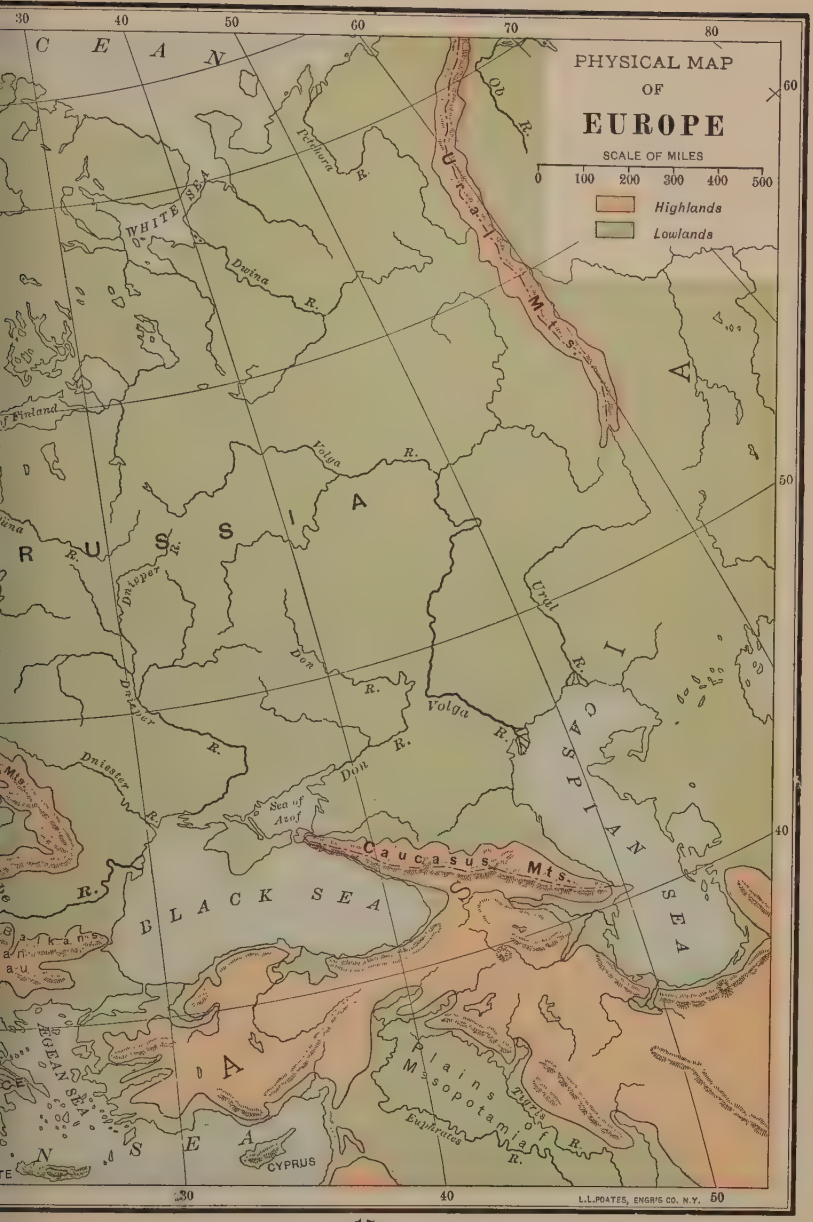
plain; its rainfall is generally plentiful, and there are no deserts except in the extreme southeast. The Mediterrancan Sea, with its easily navigable waters, unites as well as separates it from neighboring lands. The position, configuration, and climate of Europe have admirably fitted it to receive, develop, and spread to other parts of the globe the ancient civilization which arose in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Geographically Europe is a peninsula of Asia; this has made it possible for great bodies of people at various times to pass from Asia into Europe. In prehistoric times there occurred the migrations of the Aryan peoples, conquering and absorbing the pre-Aryan races: in the south of Europe settled the Greeks and Latins; in the west were established the Celts (Irish, Scots, Britons, Gauls); into the east came the Slavs (Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Servians, etc.); and between were located the Germans, with their near kin the Dutch and the Scandinavians. Whether the original seat of the Aryans was in central Asia or in northern Europe is disputed; it should also be noted that the classification into Aryan and non-Aryan peoples is based upon language, and does not necessarily imply actual kinship of blood. Nevertheless the Aryan peoples constitute a real historic group, with many ideas, institutions, and customs in common, and must be marked off from the Semitic races (Jews, Arabs, Phœnicians), as well as from the so-called Turanian peoples who inhabit central and eastern Asia.

Structurally "the characteristic of Europe is to be more full of peninsulas and islands and inland seas than the rest of the Old World." It consists of three distinct parts: (1) a southern portion comprising the great peninsulas of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and cut off from the central mass by an almost unbroken mountain chain (the Pyrenees, and the Alps with their eastern continuations); (2) a broad central land mass stretching east and west across Eu-

Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, I. 8

THE ALPS
0 50 100 Miles
Passes
Western Alps
Eastern Alps
Mt. Cenis Pass
Little St. Bernard Pass
Mt. Cenis
Mt. Blanc
Mt. Gothard
St. Gothard Pass
Great St. Bernard Pass
Splugen Pass
Lukmanier Pass
Julier Pass
Arlberg
Brenner Pass
Gulf of Genoa
Adriatic Sea
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Po R.
Rhone R.
Arctic Circle
ARCTIC
OCEAN
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides or Western Is.
BRITISH ISLES
NORTH SEA
Lands End
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Finisterre
C. St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
FRANCE
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Pyrenees
SPAIN
Vosges Mts.
Black Forest
Jura Mts.
Cevennes
Maas R.
Moselle R.
Main R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
GERMANY
BOHEMIA
Erzgebirge
Riesengebirge
Bohmerwald
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Lyons
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Apennines
ITALY
Gulf of Genoa
ADRIATIC SEA
SICILY
MALTA
AFRICA
10 Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenw


PHYSICAL MAP
OF
EUROPE
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Highlands
Lowlands
Ob R.
Petchora R.
WHITE SEA
Dwina R.
Ural Mts.
Finland
Volga R.
RUSSIA
ASIA
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Ural R.
CASPIAN SEA
Dniester R.
Sea of Azof
Caucasus Mts.
BLACK SEA
Plains of Mesopotamia
Euphrates R.
Kura R.
AEGEAN SEA
CYPRUS
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rope; and (3) a northern peninsular portion, separated from the central portion by the Baltic Sea, which forms "a kind of secondary Mediterranean." The northern and central portions, especially toward the east, are relatively low, and consist principally of "naked plains and large lakes, exposed to the freezing influences of Asia and the Arctic Ocean." The southern portion, on the other hand, "presents a series of very elevated lands, covered with natural obstacles, varied with cuttings and declivities, bristling with peaks, scalloped with gulfs, furrowed by numerous rivers, cut up into peninsulas, arresting the northern winds, opening up to the winds of Africa freshened by the Mediterranean. . . The natural accidents of the south, besides being favorable to agriculture and commerce, assure the independence and civilization of their inhabitants; whilst the vast frozen plains of the north have only miserable and savage populations, brutalized under a single government."

Lavallée, Physical, Historical, and Military Geography, 51

The central mountain system of Europe is the Alps, consisting of from 30 to 50 distinct masses, which may be grouped under the two heads of Western Alps and Eastern Alps. (1) The Western Alps or Great Alps (the Alps proper) lie in the form of an arc of a circle stretching a distance of 348 miles from the Gulf of Genoa to Mt. St. Gothard; they comprise three series of parallel ridges, with altitudes of from 3000 to 5000 in the western ridge, 9000 to 15,000 in the central, and 5000 to 8000 in the eastern ridge; the highest peak is Mont Blanc (15,781 feet), the highest mountain in Europe. They are more easily passable by an army coming from France into Italy than from Italy into France. The chief passes are the Simplon (6500 feet), over which Napoleon Bonaparte constructed an admirable road at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the Great St. Bernard (7900 feet), which in spite of its difficulties was used successively by Charlemagne, the Emperor Frederick I., and Napoleon; the Little St. Bernard

4. The mountain systems

100 feet); and the Mont Cenis (6700 feet).[1] (2) The Eastern ps stretch from Mt. St. Gothard to the Adriatic Sea and con- ue (the Dinaric Alps) along its eastern coast; their altitudes e lower than the Western Alps, and decline as they approach e Adriatic; their chief pass is the Brenner, with an altitude 4700 feet.

In almost every direction radiate offshoots from this central ountain mass. To the south extend the Apennines, forming e Italian peninsula; to the west are the Cevennes of south- n France; to the north appear the Jura, the Vosges, the Black orest, and other mountains of upper Germany; to the north- st lie the mountains inclosing Bohemia — the Böhmerwald Bohemian Forest), the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains), and the iesengebirge (Giant Mountains) — and the sweeping arc, 700 iles long, of the Carpathians; and to the southeast are the ild and precipitous heights of the Balkans, and the mountains orming the Grecian peninsula.

Only a few groups of mountains in Europe are disassociated rom the central mass of the Alps: the Pyrenees, with an aver- ge elevation of about 8000 feet, constituting a solid rampart etween France and the Spanish peninsula, passable for armies t the eastern and western ends only; and the Scandinavian Mountains, the Scottish Highlands, the Urals, and the lofty Caucasus ridge, of little historical importance.

Three important rivers rise in the neighborhood of Mt. St. Gothard, and flowing in different directions empty into differ- nt seas: (1) the Rhine, after receiving as tributaries he Moselle from the west and the Main from the east, nd traversing a course of 850 miles, empties into the North Sea (the Meuse, which flows into its delta, is practically a

5. The river systems

[1] In recent years railway tunnels have been driven through the Alps: the Mont Cenis, 7½ miles long, completed in 1871; the St. Gothard, 9¾ miles, completed in 1881; the Arlberg, 6¾ miles, completed in 1884; and the Simplon, 12¼ miles, completed in 1905.

tributary of the Rhine); (2) the Rhone, with the Saône a tributary, flows into the western Mediterranean; (3) the Po which drains the northern plain of Italy, empties into th Adriatic Sea. The Volga, with its length of 2100 miles, i geographically the most important river of Europe, but his torically it counts for little because of its location in the vas plains of eastern Russia. The Danube, Europe's second rive in size, with a length of 1600 miles, ranks historically with th Rhine in importance, near whose source it rises, and wit which it forms an almost continuous land and water rout stretching clear across Europe from the Black Sea to th North Sea. Additional streams of importance are the Ga ronne, Loire, and Seine, in France; and the Elbe, Oder and Vistula, in Germany.

6. Geographical units in Europe

The tendency of mountains is to separate, of rivers to unite adjacent peoples. Physical geography would divide Europ into the following sections: Spain; France (or Gaul) t the Cevennes Mountains; the British Isles; the Rhone land; the Rhine-land; Italy; the Balkan-land; the Danube land; North Germany; Bohemia; Russia; Scandinavia. Eac of these twelve regions has had its separate history; and moder political divisions follow this grouping with sufficient close ness to show the abiding influence, in history, of geographica factors.

7. Materials for history

All our knowledge of history is based at last upon (1) mate rial remains, such as ruins, monuments, coins, old weapons armor, household utensils, etc.; (2) official documents and contemporary descriptions (including pictorial repre sentations) by eye- and ear-witnesses; and (3) oral (o written) traditions, which come to us from persons not in position to know the facts at first hand. No matter how im portant an event may have been, if no trace of it has been lef in one or another of these ways, we can have no knowledg of it. For the Middle Ages our source materials consis

chiefly of "annals" and "chronicles" in which men (usually monks) wrote down brief accounts of the events of their own times; "capitularies" (decrees of Charlemagne and his successors) and other collections of laws; charters conveying grants of lands and privileges; a few letters of kings, popes, and other eminent men; lives of saints and other persons; and account books and other records of governments, monasteries, and individual landlords. For Modern history there is an ever increasing flood of parliamentary and congressional debates, statutes, memoirs and letters of statesmen and other persons, diaries, daily newspapers, etc. From these materials historians gather the facts of history by a slow and careful process of sifting and comparison, designed to separate the true from the false; and it is not surprising that — as new materials are discovered and made available, and more careful study is given to the old — many views formerly held are shown to be unfounded, and new ones take their place.

8. Modes of reckoning time

The historian must deal with many different systems of reckoning time, used by different peoples and in different ages. The Romans started from the founding of Rome; the Mohammedans count from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca (the "Hegira," in 622 A.D.);[1] the Christians from the birth of Christ (the year 1 A.D.), which by a miscalculation was placed four years too late; in addition, the years of the reigns of kings, emperors, and popes have been used.

The determination of the length of the year presents many difficulties. The "Julian" calendar, arranged by Julius Cæsar, making every fourth year a leap year, was used until the end of the Middle Ages; but this made the year eleven minutes fourteen seconds too long, and by the sixteenth century the

[1] Also, the Mohammedan year is a lunar year, nearly eleven days shorter than ours; so that 34 Mohammedan years are about equal to 33 years of our reckoning.

difference accumulated since the year of the Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.) amounted to nearly ten days. The reformed or "Gregorian" calendar was proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582; this not merely struck out ten days from the calendar of that year (the day after October 4 becoming October 15), but by directing the omission of three leap-year days in every four centuries thereafter, it provided for keeping the calendar year for the future in harmony with the solar year. England did not accept the reformed calendar until 1752; Russia has not yet accepted it, and is now thirteen days behind the other nations in its reckoning of dates. The two calendars are distinguished as "old style" (O.S.) and "new style" (N.S.); and to avoid doubt, dates after 1582 are sometimes given in both systems: in this book such dates are all given according to the "new style." About the time that the Gregorian calendar was adopted in the various countries, the beginning of the year was definitely fixed at the first of January; in other usages it began with the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and with various other dates, — so that up to 1752 in England, for instance, there was confusion as to whether a given date between January 1 and March 25 belonged to the expiring or the beginning year. Within the year, dates were frequently fixed with reference to great church festivals — such as Christmas and Easter — or by the days of the different saints, of which more than two thousand were thus used.

9. Decay of Roman Empire (180–375 A.D.)

For two hundred years after the overthrow of the Roman Republic by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, the Roman Empire prospered, giving unity of government, law, language, and culture to the whole Mediterranean world. Then followed a period of civil war and decay, from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocletian (180–284 A.D.). This decline was temporarily checked by the reorganization of the empire carried out by Diocletian and by Constantine the Great (died 337), whereby the empire was

divided into an eastern and a western half (regularly after 395), was made entirely despotic, and the capital was removed to Constantinople. With Constantine also came the end of the persecutions of the Christians, and the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the state.

But these changes could not long check the decay, which was due (1) to a great decrease in population, caused by famines, wars, and pestilence; (2) to unwise laws about taxes, by which men became fixed in their stations and occupations, as in hereditary castes, and free peasants became serfs, bound to the soil, while slaves rose in the social scale and blended with the depressed freemen; (3) to widespread luxury and immorality; and (4) to a lack of national feeling, resulting from despotism in the government and the general employment in the army of Germanic barbarians, who also were settled by the government in large numbers on waste lands within the empire.

10. Invasions of the Germans (376–476)

At the end of the fourth century came a more rapid decline, due to the entrance into the Roman Empire of whole nations of German barbarians. The Visigoths, attacked in the rear by Huns from Asia, crossed the Danube frontier, overthrew and slew the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in 378, and under their young king Alaric ravaged Greece, overran Italy, and sacked Rome (410); under Alaric's successors they established a Germanic kingdom in Spain and southern Gaul, which lasted for three centuries (to 711). The example set by the Visigoths was speedily followed by other nations. The Vandals overran Gaul and Spain; and upon the coming of the Visigoths to the latter land, they passed over into Africa (429), there to rule for a hundred and five years. The Franks, who were settled about the lower Rhine, gradually occupied northern Gaul; the Burgundians, passing from the middle Rhine to the Rhone valley, established there a kingdom which lasted until 534; the Angles and Saxons, in-

vading Britain in their piratical vessels (about 449), established kingdoms which later consolidated into the kingdom of England. In 451 the savage Huns extended their raids into the heart of Gaul, but were turned back by the united efforts of Romans and Visigoths; and the death two years later of their leader Attila, "the Scourge of God," released Europe from the dread of Asiatic dominion.

At Rome the last of a line of weak and foolish Emperors of the West came to an end in the year 476, when Odoacer, the leader of the German mercenaries in the Roman army, deposed young Romulus Augustulus, himself assumed the title of "king," and sent ambassadors to lay at the feet of the Eastern Emperor at Constantinople the imperial crown and purple robe, professing that one Emperor was enough for both East and West.

11. Ostrogoths and East Romans (476–555)

For some years Odoacer enjoyed his "kingdom" over the mercenaries in peace; but in 493 he was defeated and murdered by the king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric the Great, who had come into Italy with his people, commissioned by the Eastern Emperor to overthrow the usurper. Theodoric (493–526) had been brought up as a youth at Constantinople, and entertained wise and beneficent plans for the union of his Ostrogoths with the Italian provincials into one nation; but in spite of his efforts the attempt failed, mainly through religious differences, the Ostrogoths (in common with most of the German barbarians) being Arian Christians (an heretical sect), while the orthodox Catholic religion prevailed in the Roman Empire.

The reign of the Emperor Justinian (527–565) greatly strengthened the Eastern Empire, and also profoundly influenced the West. Justinian was a great builder and civilizer, and codified the Roman law into the *Code*, *Digest*, and *Institutes*, which preserved it to influence the world to the present day. He was also a great conqueror, and his generals Beli-

sarius and Narses overthrew not only the Vandal kingdom in Africa (533), but also the weakened Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy (553). For a few brief years the Roman Empire once more ruled Italy, northern Africa, the islands of the western Mediterranean, and even southern Spain; never again was its power to touch so high a point.

INTERIOR OF MOSQUE OF CORDOVA, SPAIN. Present condition. Built by Mohammedans in the 8th and 10th centuries.

12. Rise of Mohammedanism (622–732)

The beginning of the seventh century saw the rise of a new religion and a new political power, through the teachings of Mohammed (571–632), who united the Arabs, rescued them from the worship of sticks and stones, and taught them there was but one true God (Allah), of whom Mohammed was the Prophet. The teaching of Mohammed was embodied in the Koran; it contains Jewish, Christian, and Persian elements, and along with many good and noble ideas are mixed baser elements tainted by the ignorance, cruelty, and sensuality of seventh-century Arabs.

By the year 631 all Arabia had accepted Mohammed's teaching, and fanatical zeal and lust of rule urged on a movement of foreign conquest such as the world had never seen. In eighty years Mohammedanism conquered more terri-

tory than Rome conquered in four centuries: Syria, Persia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain passed under the rule of the caliphs, successors of Mohammed; but in Gaul, in 732, the Mohammedans were checked by the Franks under Charles

CONQUESTS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS.

Martel in the battle of Tours; and this defeat, combined with internal dissensions, saved Europe from a further advance of their power in this direction.

13. Lombards and the papacy (568–774)

Within fifteen years after the overthrow of the Ostrogoths, a new Germanic people, the Lombards, appeared in Italy to take their place. In a short time the Lombards conquered the greater part of northern Italy, to which their name (Lombardy) is still given; and soon they possessed the greater part, but not all, of the peninsula: officers of the Eastern Emperors still ruled a considerable district about the mouth of the river Po (Exarchate of Ravenna), together with the district about Rome (*Ducatus Romanus*), and the southern points of the peninsula. The main result of the incompleteness of the Lombard conquest was the rise of a new temporal power vested in the Pope, who, as bishop of Rome, was head of the Christian church.

The Lombards were among the most barbarous of the Germanic nations, and they were long viewed by the Romans with the fiercest hatred and loathing, even after they put aside their Arianism and accepted Catholic Christianity. Owing to the distance and weakness of the Eastern Emperors, power

in the city of Rome gradually passed into the hands of its bishops or Popes, among whom Leo I. (440–461) and Gregory I. the Great (590–604) were most noteworthy; and in 729 the Pope threw off his allegiance to the Emperor as a result of the Emperor's decree against the use of images in worship (the Iconoclastic Controversy). At about the same time the Lombards conquered the Exarchate of Ravenna (727); it then seemed as if the Pope would escape from the rule of the Emperor only to fall under that of the hated Lombards; but from this danger the papacy was saved by an appeal to another Germanic people, the most notable of all — the Franks.

14. Rise of the Franks (481–768)

Of all the Germanic peoples who pressed into the Continental provinces of Rome, only the Franks in Gaul established an enduring kingdom; hence for centuries the history of the Frankish power makes the largest part of the history of Europe. Their king Clovis (481–511) laid its basis by his consolidation of the Franks under one rule, and his conquests of neighboring peoples. Within fifty years after his death, most of Gaul and the Rhine valley were under Frankish sway. Many of the descendants of Clovis proved weak rulers; and the broils and feuds of the nobles, the turbulence and lawlessness of the freemen, produced great disorder. In spite of these evils, and in spite of frequent divisions of the territory among the sons of deceased kings, the power of the Franks as a people did not decline. Alongside of the "do-nothing" (*fainéant*) Merovingian kings, descendants of Clovis, arose strong "mayors of the palace," who exercised the real power. In Austrasia (the kingdom of the East Franks) the mayors of the palace became especially strong, for the office was practically hereditary in the powerful family of the Pepins (Carolingians), who possessed wide estates and numerous followers. Under chiefs of this house the East and West Franks were reunited, with one king and one mayor of the palace, and the Mohammedans were beaten back.

GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH KINGDOM.

To Charles Martel, the victorious mayor of the palace in the battle of Tours, the Pope appealed in vain for aid against the Lombards. In 751, however, Pope Zacharias enabled Charles's son, Pepin the Short, to seize the throne, by declaring "that the man who held power in the kingdom should be called king and be king, rather than he who falsely bore that name": with this warrant the last of the Merovingian kings of the Franks was "deposed, shorn, and thrust into a cloister," and Pepin was raised upon a shield in old Teutonic (Germanic) fashion and hailed as king in his stead (751–768). Pepin twice marched into Italy against the Lombards, at the Pope's request; the second time (756) he forced the Lombard king to give hostages, pay tribute, and surrender the Exarchate, which Pepin thereupon granted to the Pope. Thus the Pope became an important secular prince, by secur-

Einhard, Charlemagne, ch. 1

ing the old imperial dominions in central Italy; and thus too was laid the basis of a close connection between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy, which to each was to prove of the utmost importance.

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15. Summary: Europe about the year 800

About 800, the time with which this book begins, the barbarian invasions were practically over, the church was rising to a position of supreme power, feudalism was giving a new organization to society, and a new Empire was about to be founded in the West, to last (in name at least) for a thousand years. The old doctrinal disputes about the fundamental beliefs of Christianity were settled; but a church schism or separation was arising between East and West, involving differences of worship and discipline, and ultimately leading to the entire rejection of the papal authority in the East. The Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire still ruled Asia Minor, Thrace, portions of ancient Greece and southern Italy, and the islands of Crete, Sicily, and Sardinia; but the Bulgarians (an Asiatic people) had cut off the lower valley of the Danube, and barbarian Slavs formed an alien wedge running completely through the interior of the Balkan peninsula and into the Peloponnesus. North of the Danube dwelt Asiatic and Slavic peoples; and to the north of these, Finnish tribes: these peoples were still heathen, and the slow progress of Christianity among them was one of the features of the Mid-

THE KNOWN WORLD IN 800.

dle Ages. Scandinavia was taking on its threefold form of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; but the worship there of the old Teutonic gods was as yet unshaken. In the British Isles, the Teutonic English had settled, been Christianized, and were about to unite into a single kingdom; but Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, though Christian, were independent Celtic lands. In northern Spain there existed petty Christian states which in the next seven centuries were to grow into a powerful monarchy and cast out the Mohammedans. But the central political fact in the West was the existence of the Frankish kingdom, ruled over by Charlemagne, the grandson of Charles Martel.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why do we not study the history of China in the Middle Ages? (2) Why should the term "Middle Ages" be plural? (3) Why is our knowledge of history less certain than our knowledge of the physical sciences? (4) What geographical advantages has Europe over Asia? over Africa? (5) Why was Europe not so well fitted to originate as to develop and spread civilization? (6) In what ways would its history have been different if Europe were entirely surrounded by water? (7) What did Greece contribute to the civilization of the world? (8) What did Rome contribute? (9) What did the Germans add? (10) Summarize the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire. (11) Has Mohammedanism done more harm or good in the world? (12) Compare the area of Mohammedanism in 800 with its area to-day. (13) Compare the area of Christianity in 800 with its area to-day.

Search topics

(14) Ways in which geography influences history. (15) The passes of the Alps. (16) Geographical factors in the development of some European towns. (17) Influence of the Roman law. (18) Rise of the mayors of the palace. (19) Alliance between the Franks and the papacy. (20) The life of Mohammed. (21) His teachings. (22) The farthest extent of Mohammedan conquests. (23) Battle of Tours. (24) The old Teutonic mythology. (25) The wanderings and settlements of the Visigoths. (26) The wanderings and settlements of the Ostrogoths. (27) Character and work of Theodoric the Great. (28) Settlement of the Burgundians. (29) Settlement of the Lombards. (30) The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.

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EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE
768-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
KINGDOM
NORTH SEA
BRITAIN
London
Aachen
(Aix-la-chapelle)
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
Bretons
FRANKIA
Tours
Poitiers
Fontenay
AQUITANIA
ASTURIAS
Roncesvalles
Pyrenees Mts.
Saragossa
OMMIAD CALIPHATE
OF CORDOVA
Salamanca
Toledo
Cordova
BALEARIC IS.
Strasbourg
Ratisbon
Rheims
Saxons
Bavarians
Burgundy
LOMBARDY
Ravenna
ADRIATIC
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN
Tunis
CALIPHATE
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich

30
40
50
60
Tribes
G. of Finland
KINGDOM OF THE KHAZARS
Poles
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Magyars
Carpathian Mts.
AVARS
Bulgarians
Danube R.
Balkan Mts.
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Adrianople
THRACE
Bosphorus
Constantinople
Nicæa
ASIA MINOR
EMPIRE
CRETE
CYPRUS
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Bagdad
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Alexandria
ARABIA
ABBASSIDES
THE
SEA
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10

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE (768–814)

16. Charlemagne's conquests

Upon the death of Pepin the Short in 768, his sons Carloman and Charles the Great (Charlemagne) succeeded him, ruling jointly; but in 771 Carloman died, and thenceforth Charlemagne ruled alone. Charlemagne's reign saw a long series of wars, undertaken to extend the limits of the Frankish territory, or to ward off attacks from without. During the forty-six years that he ruled (768–814) he sent out more than fifty military expeditions, at least half of which he commanded in person. They were directed against the Aquitanians and Bretons of France (3 expeditions); the Lombards of northern Italy (5); the Saracens, or Mohammedans, of Spain and southern Italy (12); the German Thuringians and Bavarians (2); the Avars and Slavs (8); the Danes (2); the Greeks (2), and, most of all, against the Saxons (18), descendants of the tribes from which, three hundred years earlier, had come the Teutonic conquerors of Britain.

For more than two centuries the Franks had waged intermittent warfare with the heathen and barbarous Saxons, who dwelt in the trackless forests, swamps, and plains bordering on the North Sea, between the rivers Ems and Elbe. Charlemagne resolved to end the struggle by Christianizing as well as subjugating these troublesome neighbors; but the task required thirty years for its completion (775–804), it was attended by nine successive rebellions, and was stained by the one great act of cruelty of Charlemagne's reign — the massacre of 4500 prisoners (782). The most troublesome tribes were transported

to other parts of the empire, throughout Saxony fortresses were established and bishoprics founded (around which grew up the first towns), and Christianity was forced upon the population at the point of the sword; so strict were the laws that converts who ate meat in Lent were condemned to death, unless absolved by a Christian priest. Political and religious opposition was at last crushed, and within a few generations the Saxons became the most powerful nation in the Frankish realm.

Even more important than the Saxon wars were those with the Lombards. In spite of the two expeditions of Pepin the Short (§ 14), the power of the Lombards continued to be a menace to the papacy; also the Lombard king harbored pretenders to a share in Charlemagne's kingdom. When, therefore, the Pope appealed to Charlemagne in 773 against King Desiderius, the Frankish king marched to his assistance. In 774–776 he completely conquered the Lombard kingdom and assumed the famous "iron crown," with its narrow circlet reputed to have been made from one of the nails of the Crucifixion. He then renewed his father Pepin's gift to the Pope of the temporal dominion of Ravenna and other parts of Italy. The conquest of Lombardy and the donation of the papal states were two of the most important acts of Charlemagne's reign: they brought the king of the Franks into closer relations with the papacy, and prepared the way for the revival of the Western Empire on a Germanic basis.

17. Revival of the Empire in the West

The lands over which Charlemagne ruled in 800 included what are now France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, more than half of Germany and Italy, and parts of Austria and Spain (maps, pp. 26, 30); and over the "eternal city" of Rome itself he exercised supreme authority by virtue of the title "Patricius," given him by the Pope. The extent of Charlemagne's power made him already in fact, though not in name, the Emperor of the West. The ruler at Constan-

tinople in the year 800 was a woman, the Empress Irene, who had just deposed her son, put out his eyes, and seized the power for herself; the West refused to recognize her rule and looked on the throne of the empire as vacant. What was more natural than that it should be given to the king of the Franks, the real ruler of the West? Charlemagne was quite prepared for this step, but by whom should the imperial crown be conferred? By the Pope, who had authorized Pepin's assumption of the royal crown? By the people of Rome, as in the ancient days when Roman Senate and people were still sovereign? Or should it be accounted something which belonged to Charlemagne by virtue of his conquests?

18. Coronation of Charlemagne (800)

Whatever solution Charlemagne had in mind, the circumstances of the coronation were not of his arranging. The close of the year 800 found him in the city of Rome. As Charlemagne prayed at the solemn celebration of Christmas, kneeling by the altar in the old church of St. Peter's, Pope Leo III. placed a crown upon his head, while the people cried, "To Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific Emperor, be life and victory." According to Einhard, his secretary and biographer, Charlemagne declared that "he would not have set foot in the church, . . . although it was a great feast day, if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope."

Einhard, Charlemagne, ch. 28

The coronation of Charlemagne, in the language of an English writer, "is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of those very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different." Of all the mediæval rulers, Charlemagne was the only one in whom the Empire of the West could have been restored. Only he, by his genius and the splendor of his victories, was able to make the principle of unity of government triumph over the tendency towards separation, disorder, and anarchy.

Bryce, Holy Roman Empire (revised ed.), 50

CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE.
Fresco (19th century) in Hotel de Ville, Aix-la-Chapelle.

19. Charlemagne's government

Following the principle adopted by the Germanic conquerors, Charlemagne left to each race — Franks, Burgundians, Romans, Lombards, Goths, Bavarians, Saxons — its own law, making only such changes by his decrees, or "capitularies," as the good of the state and society demanded. For in the early Middle Ages there was little attempt at what we should call legislation; the "law" of each individual was an inheritance from the past of his race, and as much a part of him as the breath which he drew. Taxes paid to the state also disappeared with the fall of the Roman Empire; and Charlemagne's needs were supplied, like those of most mediæval rulers, chiefly from the proceeds of his own estates (*villæ*), for which elaborate regulations were made; the king usually

traveled from vill to vill with his suite, to consume the produce arising on each estate. On the other hand, public offices, military service, and the like, were unpaid, and the financial needs of the state were less than now.

Under the Merovingians the kingdom had been divided into local districts, ruled by officers called "counts," appointed by the king. These were kept by Charlemagne as the chief officers of local government; in their hands was placed the military leadership, and the administration of justice. To supervise their work, royal commissioners (*missi dominici*) were sent out each year to inspect the national militia, hear complaints against the counts, enforce justice, and guard the interests of the king. Usually the commissioners were sent out two and two — a layman and an ecclesiastic.

The counts were often guilty of great oppression; a capitulary dated 803 reads: "We hear that the officers of the counts and some of their more powerful vassals are collecting rents and insisting on forced labors, harvesting, plowing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading wagons and the like, not only from the church's servants, but from the rest of the people; all which practices must, if you please, be put a stop to by us and by all the people, because in some places the people have been in these ways so grievously oppressed that many, unable to bear their lot, have escaped by flight from their masters or patrons, and the lands are relapsing into wilderness." Such oppressions led the king to grant "immunities," by which lands and men, especially of bishops and abbots, were removed from the jurisdiction of the counts. These immunities formed one of the important bases of later feudalism.

Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, VIII. 298

20. The May Field

Twice a year, in early summer and in the fall or winter, Charlemagne summoned the principal men to consult with him concerning the affairs of the empire. To the summer meeting, called the "Field of May," came all free men

capable of bearing arms, and often the meeting was at once followed by a military expedition. A general assembly in his reign is pictured by a modern writer as follows: "An immense multitude is gathered together in a plain, under tents; it is divided into distinct groups. The chiefs of the groups assemble about the king, and deliberate with him; then each of these makes known to his own people what has been decided, consults them perhaps, at any rate obtains their assent with as little difficulty as the king has obtained his own, for these men are dependent on him just as he is dependent on the king. The general assembly is a composite of a thousand little assemblies which, through their chiefs alone, are united about the prince." The king's will decided everything, the nobles only advised.

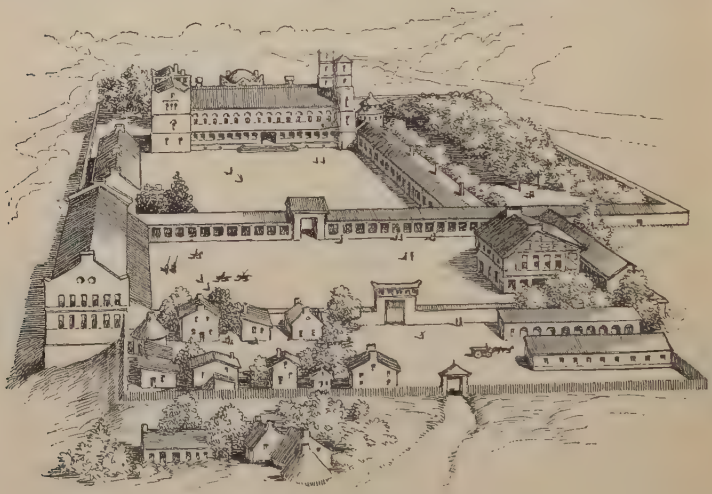
Fustel de Coulanges, VI. 613

In these assemblies Charlemagne dealt with matters concerning church and state alike; whenever he believed that priests or bishops were not performing their duties properly, he did not hesitate to correct them. Charlemagne's government was far from being as free and orderly as the governments under which most European nations live to-day; yet when we consider the difficulties of the time, and compare his government with that of his successors, we find him an able administrator as well as a great warrior.

21. Education and the arts

The literatures of Greece and Rome had disappeared from use when Charlemagne came to the throne, and even the writings of the church scarcely survived. The only "books" were costly parchment rolls written by hand. The two centuries from 600 to 800 produced only a few credulous lives of saints, and some barren "annals," or dry monastic histories. Charlemagne himself learned to speak and read Latin, in addition to his native German, and to understand Greek, though not to speak it. He never mastered the art of writing as then used, though he kept waxed tablets always by him to practice it.

The Palace School — a kind of learned academy composed of the chief scholars and courtiers about the Emperor — played an important part in a revival of learning and literature. An Englishman named Alcuin was invited to the Emperor's court from York, which was then the most learned center in western Europe, and he became the chief scholar of the new circle. Others came from Italy, Spain, and other lands; some were



Royal Palace of Carolingian Times.
From Viollet-le-Duc.

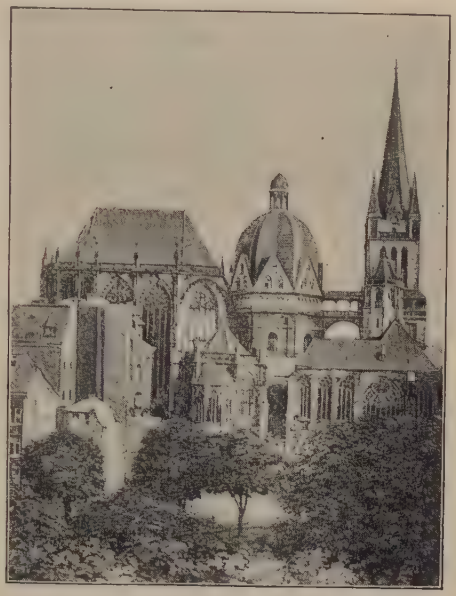
grammarians, some poets, some theologians. Charlemagne discussed with them astronomy, shipbuilding, history, the text of the Scriptures, theology, and moral philosophy. For the younger members of the royal family and court, there was more formal instruction, so that the Palace School may be regarded as a high school, as well as a literary and debating club.

Charlemagne's care for education did not stop with his own court, since we read in the capitularies such commands as these: "Let schools be established in which boys may learn

to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with all diligence."

Robinson, Readings, I. 146

Charlemagne was also a builder, planning canals, building bridges, and restoring churches which were crumbling into ruin. But his work in this direction did little to check the artistic decay of the times. From the old residence of the emperors at Ravenna, a hundred marble columns were taken for Charlemagne's palace at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle); thither also were transported pictures, mosaics, and precious sculptures. Charlemagne thus set a bad example to the ages which followed, and contributed to a robbery of the ancient monuments which, in the Middle Ages, caused more destruction among them than was caused by all the ravages of time and war.



CATHEDRAL AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The octagon at center of the picture was built by Charlemagne; it is an example of the Byzantine style.

The ten years following Charlemagne's coronation as Emperor were mainly spent at his capital Aachen. The only serious danger of the time came from the Scandinavian "Vikings" (creek men), whose piratical raids, beginning in this reign, foreshadowed the greater troubles of a century later. Charlemagne's prestige abroad was at its height; and to his court came envoys from the renowned Haroun-al-Rashid, caliph of Bagdad, whose present of an enormous elephant excited the liveliest interest at the Frankish court.

22. Charlemagne's old age and death (814)

The last years of the great Emperor's life were clouded by family sorrows. He had been married five times and had many children. In arranging for the succession Charlemagne followed the old Teutonic practice of dividing the kingdom among his three sons, whom he established as sub-kings in his lifetime over portions of his realm. One of the chief differences in the position of the monarch, as conceived by the Roman emperors and by the barbarian kings, was that the Roman emperors in theory held their power as a trust in the name and interest of the state, — that is, of all, — while the barbarian kings regarded the royal power as private property, to which ordinary rules of inheritance could be applied. Charlemagne's arrangement, however, broke down, owing to the fact that his two older sons died before him; then Charlemagne placed the imperial crown on the head of his third son, Louis, and recognized him as his successor. Four months later, in January, 814, the old Emperor died of a fever, being upward of seventy years of age.

Few men have left a deeper impression on their times, and around few have clustered so many legends. His personality and habits are thus described by his secretary, Einhard: —

23. Character of Charlemagne

"Charles was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall. The upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus,

his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting. He took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase. He enjoyed natural warm springs, and often practiced swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and thence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death.

Einhard, Charlemagne, chs. 22–24 (condensed)

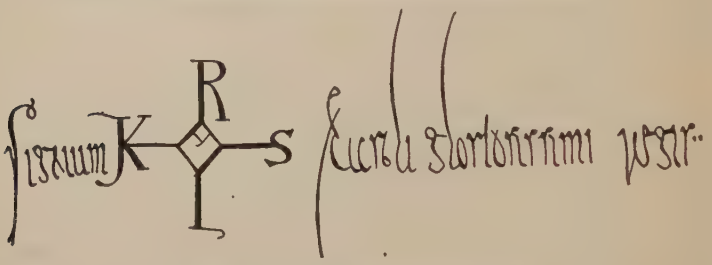
"He used to wear the national, that is to say, the Frank, dress, — next his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his legs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always had a sword girt about him.

ROASTING ON A SPIT.
From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

"Charlemagne was temperate in eating and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fast days injured his health. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden time; he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled *The City of God*.

"While he was dressing and putting on his shoes, he not only gave audience to his friends, but if the Count of the Palace [the

chief judge of the Court] told him of any suit in which his judgment was necessary, he had the parties brought before him forthwith, took cognizance of the case, and gave his decision, just as if he were sitting on the judgment-seat."



SIGNATURE OF CHARLEMAGNE (790).

Charlemagne made only the central part of the monogram KAROLVS (= Charles); the scribe wrote the rest, together with the words to the left and to the right, which are Latin for "Signature of Charles, the most glorious King."

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24. Summary

Pepin the Short (751–768) deposed the last Merovingian "do-nothing" king of the Franks, and became the first king of the Carolingian line. His son, Charlemagne, began his sole rule in 771 and reigned until 814. He was the central figure of his time, and was one of the most remarkable men produced by the Middle Ages. He greatly extended his kingdom through successful wars, ruled well in church and state, revived the Empire of the West in 800, and checked the decline of learning. With his coronation as Emperor a new age begins; force alone no longer rules; and great ideas, such as those which gave strength to the Papacy and the Empire, begin to play a part amid the strife of nations.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What did Clovis contribute to the development of the Frankish power? What did Charles Martel contribute? What did Pepin the Short contribute? What did Charlemagne contribute? (2) In what consisted the greatness of Charlemagne? (3) Why was the papacy more friendly to the Franks than to the other

barbarians? (4) Compare the German ideas of law with modern ideas. (5) Was it better for the Saxons to receive civilization from the Franks by force, or to work out a civilization of their own? (6) Compare the extent of territory ruled over by Charlemagne with that ruled by the Eastern Emperor.

Search topics

(7) Contemporary accounts of the coronation of Charlemagne. (8) Alcuin. (9) Make a list of the other scholars of Charlemagne's court, with the countries of their birth and the things for which they are remembered. (10) The home life of the Franks in the time of Charlemagne. (11) The wars against the Saxons. (12) The wars against the Lombards. (13) Charlemagne's visit to Rome in 774. (14) The massacre of the Saxons. (15) Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*.

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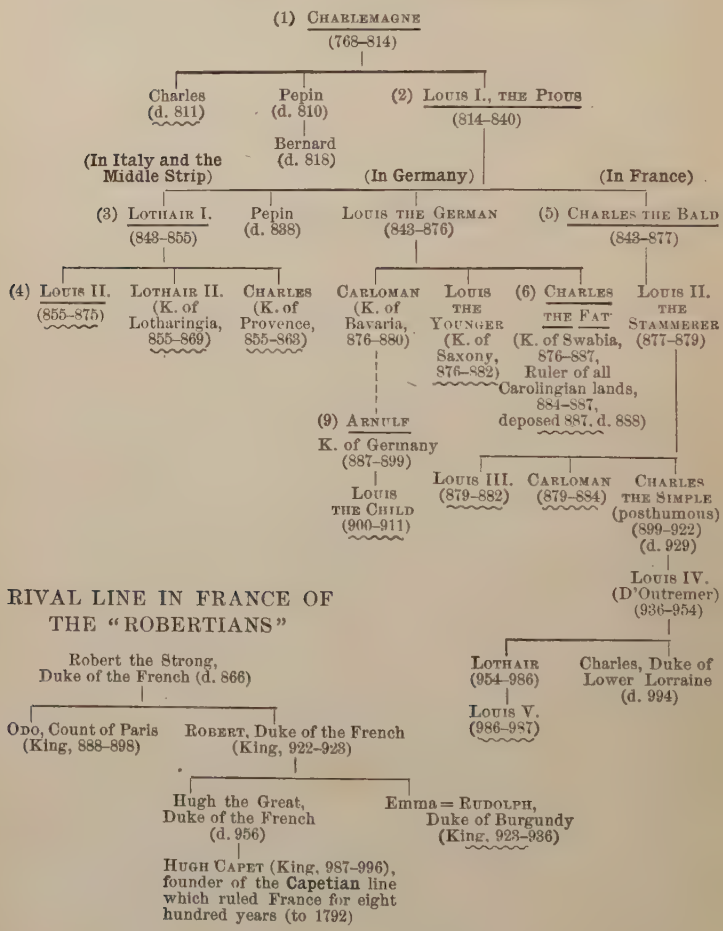
THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE



RIVAL LINE IN FRANCE OF THE "ROBERTIANS"

Robert the Strong, Duke of the French (d. 866)
ODO, Count of Paris (King, 888–898)
ROBERT, Duke of the French (King, 922–923)
Hugh the Great, Duke of the French (d. 956)
Emma = RUDOLPH, Duke of Burgundy (King, 923–936)
HUGH CAPET (King, 987–996), founder of the Capetian line which ruled France for eight hundred years (to 1792)

Explanation

——— Names underscored thus are those of members of the Carolingian house who bore the title of Emperor. The seventh and eighth emperors, beginning to count with Charlemagne, were obscure Italian princes, not of the Carolingian house.
~~~~~ Indicates extinction of the male line.
- - - - - - Indicates illegitimate descent.
~~~~~

CHAPTER III.

THE LATER CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE (814–911) AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

The power which Charlemagne built up declined rapidly after his death. His son Louis was well-meaning and conscientious, but without a spark of the genius of his father; his care for religion, however, won for him the surname of "the Pious." The chief troubles of Louis's reign arose from his desire to set apart a portion of his kingdom for his youngest son Charles (afterwards called Charles the Bald), as he had done for the older sons; but the latter resented and three times resisted in arms the attempt to deprive them of territories for their young half-brother.

25. Louis the Pious (814–840)

Carolingian Warrior. From Musée d'Artillerie, Paris.

The death of Louis the Pious, in 840, did not end the struggle; and two brothers, Charles the Bald and Louis the German, were soon arrayed against their elder brother, Lothair. All parts of the empire were represented in the decisive battle, which occurred in 841, at Fontenay, in eastern France. Never had so terrible a struggle been seen since Charles Martel fought the Saracens at Tours. One of the officers of Lothair's army describes the battle in a

26. Battle of Fontenay (841)

rude Latin chant: "May that day be accursed!" he cries; "may it no more be counted in the return of the year, but let it be effaced from all remembrance! . . . Never was there worse slaughter! Christians fell in seas of blood; . . . the linen vestments of the dead whitened all the field like birds of autumn."

Angilbert, quoted in Dareste, France, I. 438

The battle resulted in a complete victory for the two younger brothers, who then bound themselves by oaths at Strassburg to mutual aid. The language of these oaths shows the tongues used in the two armies. On the one side the oath began, "In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi. . . ." On the other it read, "Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament. . . ." In English this clause would be, "For the love of God and for the common safety of the Christian people and ourselves. . . ." The first can be recognized as in the language from which the German of to-day is derived; the second is midway between Latin and modern French.

27. Partition of Verdun (843)

After long negotiations a treaty was concluded by the three brothers at Verdun in 843. Louis received the eastern third of the empire, beyond the rivers Aar and Rhine; Charles the western third, lying west of the Rhone and Scheldt; and Lothair the strip between, with Italy and the imperial title. This sweeping partition is the first step in the rise in western Europe of territories corresponding to national states. We must not, however, press this point too far. "These three countries were not states, for a state is an organized political entity; there were no states, properly speaking (at least no great states), before the close of the Middle Ages. Nor were they nations; a nation is a definitely formed, conscious, and responsible person." Territories, however, were marked out by this treaty in which national states were in time to arise. Charles's portion corresponds roughly to modern France, and Louis's to Germany;

Lavisse, General View, 37

PARTITION OF VERDUN (843).

the middle strip contained no elements of nationality, and its parts, together with Italy, were for ten centuries the object of conquests and the seat of European wars.

28. The later Carolingians (843–887)

The history of the later descendants of Charlemagne makes a confused and uninteresting story. The stock itself was enfeebled, and the quarrels and incompetence of rival rulers are not more noteworthy than the speed with which all three lines became extinct. (1) In Italy, Lothair died in 855, and his kingdom was divided among his three sons; the eldest, though ruling only a small fraction of the territory of Charlemagne, was nevertheless styled Emperor. None of the sons of Lothair left male heirs,

so their territories passed upon their deaths to their cousins of France and Germany. (2) In Germany we see the same subdivision among three sons, followed by extinction of the male line, the last of the legitimate descendants of the eastern house being Charles the Fat. (3) In France, Charles the Bald upon his death in 877 left but one son, to whom descended the whole of his kingdom. This king ruled for but two years, and his two sons, who ruled jointly,[1] died within five years thereafter. The nobles then chose as ruler Charles the Fat (884–887), the last of the three sons of Louis the German, in whose hands for a few brief years nearly the whole of Charlemagne's empire was reunited.

29. Raids of the Northmen

The rule of Charles the Fat was as weak as it was short. Since the days of Charlemagne, the danger from the Northmen had become more pressing. From their homes in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, these heathen sea-rovers came each year, in fleets of from a hundred to three hundred vessels, to plunder and destroy. Their invasions may be looked upon as the last wave of the Germanic migrations. The scantiness of their harvests (due to the rigorous climate of the north), a lust for booty, the love of warfare and adventure, and political changes then taking place at home — all impelled these hardy seamen to set forth. England, Scotland, Ireland, and even Italy suffered from their attacks, as well as France and Germany. In their light ships they would ascend the rivers far into the heart of the land, and then seize horses to carry them swiftly to more distant scenes of plunder. In the latter part of the ninth century their invasions took on a new character, and became an emigration and colonization. In England half the kingdom passed into their hands, and was known as the Danelaw (878). In France monasteries and cities were

[1] A third son, Charles the Simple, was born in 879, a few months after the death of his father.

pillaged and burned, great stretches of country fell out of cultivation, and a large part of the population perished through massacre and starvation. Twice Paris itself was sacked. In 885–886 it was again besieged; and in spite of the heroic defense conducted by its count and bishop, the "cowardly, unwieldy, incompetent" king, Charles the Fat, bought off the besiegers by the payment of a large sum of money.

The weakness of Charles the Fat led to his deposition in 887, and the division of the empire among many "little kings." In Italy two rival families struggled in vain to found an Italian kingdom. In Provence, or Lower Burgundy, and in Upper Burgundy, kingdoms were founded which soon united to form the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles. In all these regions the rule passed from the hands of the Carolingians.

30. Last of the Carolingians (887–987)

In Germany the power passed into the hands of an illegitimate branch of the Carolingian house. Arnulf, nephew of Charles the Fat, began the revolt that overthrew the latter, and for twelve years ruled there as king. In him something of the old Carolingian vigor and courage revived; but his son, Louis the Child, who succeeded him, died in 911, leaving no son, brother, or uncle; and the rule of the descendants of Charlemagne in Germany came permanently to an end.

In France only there existed, after 888, a legitimate representative (Charles the Simple) of the great house founded by the heroic mayors of the palace, and here the Carolingian rule continued, with many vicissitudes, for another century. Count Odo — the count who so bravely conducted the defense of Paris — was chosen king in France in 888, though he was not of the Carolingian house; but in Aquitaine the desire of the nobles for a separate government led them to support the Carolingian prince, Charles the Simple, and refuse to recognize Odo; and after Odo's death (in 898) Charles was

received as king by the whole realm. But the downfall of the Carolingians here was only postponed. In the end (987), the family of Odo triumphed over the last representative of the house of Charlemagne, and in France as elsewhere rulers not of the Carolingian house sat on the throne.

Chief of the forces which broke up the unity of the Carolingian empire was feudalism. In its nature this was both a system of land tenure and a form of military, political, and social organization. In its origin it was a result of the persistent and growing state of anarchy which the Germanic invasions began, and which Charlemagne's rule only temporarily checked. The growing weakness of the government obliged men everywhere to take upon themselves the burden of their own defense. Every lofty hilltop, every river-island and stronghold, became the site of a tower or castle, whose lord ruled the surrounding population. Later these castles were looked upon by the lower classes as centers of oppression, but at first they were often viewed with different sentiments: they were then "the sure places of deposit for their harvests and their goods; in case of incursions they gave shelter to their wives, their children, themselves; each strong castle constituted the safety of a district."

31. Rise of feudalism

Fustel de Coulanges, VI. 682

Three elements are found in the fully developed feudal system, each with a separate history. These are: (1) the personal element — vassalage; (2) the landed element — the benefice, or fief; (3) the political element — the rights of sovereignty exercised by the great seigneurs.

(1) The personal element is that of which the roots go deepest into the past. Under the Roman Empire, when oppressive government and barbarian raids made difficult the position of the poorer freemen, many became the dependents of rich men, and rendered services in return for maintenance and protection. Among the Germans of the

32. Vassalage

time of Tacitus, free-born warriors considered it an honor to enter the *comitatus*, or military following, of a successful chief. In the Frankish kingdom such relationships multiplied, and the Carolingian government sought to use the institution of personal dependence as a means to enforce military and other duties. A capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 847, went so far as to order "that each freeman in our kingdom choose the lord that he wishes." About the year 900, the system of independent freemen had practically disappeared in western Europe, and society had become "a chain of vassals, in which subjection had its degrees, and mounted from man to man up to the king."

The process by which a freeman became the vassal of another was called "commendation." Kneeling before the seigneur, or lord, the prospective vassal placed his hands in the hands of the other, and "commended himself" to him, promising to serve him honorably in such ways as a freeman should, so long as he should live. There were three purposes especially for which men went into vassalage: to escape the exactions of unrighteous lords; to avoid the military and judicial services due the government; and to secure protection against invading Saracens, Northmen, and Hungarians. The tie established by commendation was at first purely personal, without reference to landholding, and was not hereditary; but in course of time vassalage united with, and became subordinate to, the second or landed element of feudalism.

33. The benefice, or fief

(2) The benefice, or fief, was an estate in land or other property, the use of which was granted in return for stipulated payments or services. Such "usufructuary" tenures were known under the later Roman Empire, and after the Germanic conquest they were greatly multiplied. The church especially was instrumental in establishing them. Through gifts of pious individuals the clergy had come into possession of vast estates, the surplus produce of which could

not be sold because of the almost total lack of roads and markets; it was an economic advantage, therefore, to grant away portions of this land in return for rents and services. The example set by the clergy was followed by great lay proprietors. Often, too, small "allodial" landowners (as those were called who owned their land in full proprietorship) surrendered their lands to the church, or to some powerful layman, and received them back again as a benefice. Thus the number of allodial estates constantly decreased, whereas that of benefices increased.

The use made of the benefice by the government converted it from a mere economic device into a political one; this change began in the time of Charles Martel, and was connected with a reorganization of the Frankish army. To meet the attacks of the Saracens a cavalry force was necessary, and the rule that each freeman should supply himself with weapons and serve at his own expense could no longer be applied, for the cost of providing a horse and heavy arms was too great. Charles Martel, therefore, granted land to his chief military followers on condition that they equip and maintain bands of cavalry for his service; and since the lands in his control were not sufficient, lands of the church were appropriated and used for this purpose. In these grants the personal and landed elements of feudalism were always united; for the lands granted by Martel and his successors were given only to those who already were, or were willing to become, the vassals of the grantor. These, in turn, exacted the same condition from those to whom they subgranted portions, and from this time the tendency was to unite vassalage and benefice holding. By the end of the ninth century the union became complete, and the benefice holder normally was a vassal, and the vassal normally was a benefice holder. Benefices thus became "a sort of money with which the kings and the magnates paid for the services of which they had need."

Secretan, Essai sur la Féodalité, 98

At first, benefices were granted for life only; but gradually it became customary, upon the death of a tenant, for the lord to regrant the estate to the tenant's heir. Thus most benefices, in the eighth and ninth centuries, were in practice hereditary; and the custom, without positive enactment, hardened into law. The earlier term "benefice" then gave place to the term "fief," which designates the fully hereditary estate held by a vassal on condition of mounted military service.

(3) Political sovereignty, which formed the third element in feudalism, was not present in all fiefs, but was an integral part of the system. It consisted of the right possessed by the greater lords to do in their territories most of the acts which ordinarily are performed by the state — to hold courts and try causes, to raise money, levy troops, wage war, and even coin money. Different lords possessed these rights in different degrees, but all the greater lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, possessed some of them.

34. Seignorial rights of sovereignty

Such rights were acquired either through a grant of "immunity" by the crown, or through usurpation without royal grant. In the preceding chapter (§ 19) it has been seen that, to check the oppressions of the counts, immunities were granted, particularly to the clergy, exempting the estates of the holders from the visitation and jurisdiction of royal officers. Thenceforth the count would have no control over such lands, and the functions which he formerly discharged there passed to the immunity holder, and were exercised, not as powers delegated by the state, but in his own right and for his own profit. In a similar manner, the counts made their offices and functions hereditary, along with the benefices which they held. Many lords who were neither royal officers nor possessed of grants of immunity exercised similar rights by usurpation. Thus in various ways sovereignty, which should have been possessed entire by the state, was split up into many bits, and each great seigneur seized such portions as he could.

From the union of these three elements (vassalage, fief-holding, and the lord's rights of sovereignty), in the eighth and ninth centuries, the feudal system arose. France was the land of its earliest and most complete development, but in some form it was found in all countries of western Europe. In England after the Norman conquest, and in Palestine and the East at the time of the Crusades, the system was introduced from France, with some important modifications: in England, in the direction of greater power for the crown; in the East, in the way of more complete control by the feudal lords. In Spain, and in the Scandinavian countries, the system was of native growth, but never reached the completeness which it gained in France and Germany. Until the end of the thirteenth century, the system flourished with such vigor that this epoch may be styled preëminently the Feudal Age. In the fourteenth century a transformation set in, lasting to the close of the Middle Ages, by which feudalism ceased to be a political force, and became a mere social and economic survival.

35. Spread of the feudal system

The theory of the feudal system was comparatively simple, but its practice was infinitely complex and confused. The same man often held fiefs from several different lords, of different rank, and had vassals under him on each fief. Thus the count of Champagne in the thirteenth century held fiefs divided into twenty-six districts, each centering in a castle; his lords included the Emperor in Germany, the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the archbishops of Rheims and Sens, the bishops of Autun, Auxerre, and Langres, and the abbot of St. Denis, to each of whom he did "homage" and owed "service"; portions of his lands and rights he "subinfeudated," on varying terms, to more than two thousand vassal knights, some of whom were also vassals for other fiefs from his own overlords. Monasteries frequently appear, under feudal conditions, both as lords and as tenants

36. Complications of feudalism

of fiefs; and bishops owed feudal service for the lands annexed to their offices.

The administration of justice usually went with the land; and since there were lordships above lordships, it might happen that in a given place the "high justice," or right to punish the most serious crimes (murder, robbery, arson, etc.) belonged to one lord, the "middle justice" to another, and the "low justice" to a third. The right to exercise jurisdiction was a profitable right, because of the fines and confiscations which it brought; hence the right to administer one or another kind of justice was often made the subject of an express grant. Offices — even those of cook and miller — were granted as fiefs; the right to half the bees found in a certain wood was granted in fief; in the thirteenth century money fiefs, or annual pensions in return for vassal service, became common. Behind all these grants lay a military reason — the desire of the lord to increase the number of his mounted and heavily armed followers serving at their own expense.

37. Lord and vassal

To the end of the Middle Ages there existed some allodial or non-feudal estates, scattered here and there amid feudalized lands; but the maxim, "No land without a lord, no lord without land," expressed the rule. In the fully developed feudal theory, God was the ultimate lord of all land. Family names derived from estates become common from the eleventh century. Military service, and the tenure of land on this condition, became the ground of a new nobility, descending from the king through the various grades of marquis, duke, count, viscount, to the lord of a single knight's fee. Each of these, save the last, had vassals and subvassals below him, created by the process of subinfeudation. Below them all were the peasants, styled "serfs" and "villeins," whose little plots of land were held of their lord on condition of manual services and regular payments, both of which were regarded as "ignoble." Possession of at least a few families

of villeins was almost a necessity to the feudal lord, for it was mainly from their labor that he was fed and clothed, and enabled to equip himself with his steeds and costly armor.

The tie which bound the feudal hierarchy together was one of personal contract, based on the grant and receipt of land, and witnessed by the "homage" done and "fealty" sworn by each vassal to his "suzerain," or lord. By this contract the vassal was pledged to render "service" to his lord; the latter was bound to "protect" his vassal. The service was preeminently military — forty days a year, on horseback, at the vassal's expense, being the customary limit. The vassal had to attend his lord's court when summoned, to aid with counsel and advice; he was obliged also when accused to stand trial by his fellow-vassals in this court. In addition, the lord might require payment of "aids" in money, on certain exceptional occasions: (1) when the lord knighted his eldest son; (2) on the first marriage of his eldest daughter; (3) to ransom his person from captivity; and (4) to aid him in setting forth on a crusade.

Act of Homage.
Seal of the 12th century.

Primogeniture, or the succession of the eldest son, was the rule of feudal inheritance, as opposed to the equal division among all the children recognized by the Roman and Teutonic law. Personal property might be disposed of by will, but feudal land could not; in default of a recognized heir it "escheated" to the lord of the fief. On entering upon his inheritance, the heir of full age paid a "relief" in money (consisting usually of one year's revenue of the fief), did homage and fealty, and was then put in possession of his estate. If he was a minor, the lord often had the custody of

38. Feudal inheritance

his person and of the fief, with the right to take the profits, until the heir became of age. Finally, the vassal could not sell or otherwise alienate his fief without the lord's consent; and over the marriage of the vassal's heir the lord possessed a measure of control.

In case a vassal failed in the discharge of his obligations, he might be convicted of "felony," and his fief confiscated. In case the lord failed to protect, or otherwise wronged his vassal, the latter might appeal to his lord's suzerain. But ordinarily disputes were settled by force; and the clash of

39. Feudal warfare

TOURNAMENT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.
From a 12th century MS.

ill-defined interests, the hatred borne to neighbor and stranger, and the military habits of the time, made private warfare almost the normal condition of the Middle Ages. And since war was the chief occupation of the feudal class, mimic warfare — the "joust" and "tournament" — was their favorite amusement.

Down to the eleventh century, the armor consisted of a leather or cloth tunic covered with metal scales or rings, with an iron cap to protect the head. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the hauberk was usually worn; this was a

coat of link or chain mail, often reaching to the feet, and possessing a hood to protect the neck and back of the head. Plate armor and the visored helmet first appear in the fourteenth century. A shield or buckler of wood and leather, bound with iron and emblazoned with the knight's coat of arms, was carried on the left arm. The weapons were chiefly the lance and the straight sword. The weight of the armor made necessary a strong, heavy horse (the *dextrarius*) to carry the warrior in battle; when on a journey he rode a lighter horse (the "palfrey"), while a squire or valet led the *dextrarius*, laden with his armor. No number of foot soldiers of the ancient sort could stand before warriors mounted and thus equipped, and it is in this military preëminence that we find one of the chief reasons for the long continuance of the feudal power.

40. Restrictions of feudal warfare

From the close of the tenth century the church exerted itself to check the incessant fighting; and two institutions thus arose, called respectively "the Peace" and "the Truce of God." By the Peace, warfare upon the church and the weak — including peasants, merchants, women, and pilgrims — was perpetually forbidden in those districts where the Peace was adopted. By the Truce of God, a cessation of warfare was established for all classes during the period from Thursday night to Monday morning of each week, and in all holy seasons (Lent, Advent, Whitsuntide, etc.); thus the number of days a year on which warfare could be carried on was greatly restricted. Violation of the Peace, or of the Truce, was punished with excommunication (§ 58): in some districts, sworn associations of the laity and clergy, with special courts, treasuries, and armies, were instituted to punish violations; but even thus the Peace and Truce were but imperfectly observed.

As governments grew stronger, dukes, kings, and emperors exerted themselves to put down the abuse of private warfare. In Normandy, and in England after the Norman conquest, the

crown enforced peace with a strong hand. In France also, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the crown became strong enough to make progress in this direction. In Germany the Emperors early proclaimed the public peace (*Landfrieden*); but "robber barons" continued to exist, "fist-right" prevailed for long periods, and it was only at the very close of the fifteenth century that effectual steps were taken to enforce a permanent peace.

41. General character of feudalism

In considering the feudal system as a whole, the following points should be borne in mind: (1) Practice often conflicted with theory, many vassals, for instance, becoming strong enough to throw off all dependence on their suzerains. (2) Customs varied greatly in different regions and at different times. (3) The hereditary principle gradually grew stronger, so that in many fiefs female inheritance, and the succession of collateral heirs, in default of heirs of the direct line, came to be recognized. (4) The principle of monarchy (which implies "sovereignty" over subjects) was in its nature opposed to feudalism (which gave only "suzerainty" over vassals), and monarchs, wherever strong enough, undermined feudalism both by direct limitations of feudal prerogatives, and by drawing to themselves, or "mediatizing," the vassals of their own tenants. (5) The rise of the cities as political organizations, from the eleventh century to the thirteenth, also weakened feudalism; for their interests were opposed to those of the feudal lords, and they were enabled to combat them by the wealth which they acquired through industry and trade. (6) With all its defects feudalism served a useful purpose: it supplied a possible form of government at a time when complete anarchy was threatened; it kept alive the theory of a king and the state, standing above all feudal magnates, and thus furnished a basis on which subsequent generations could erect centralized and efficient governments.

42. Summary

The century which followed the death of Charlemagne saw the complete decline of the empire he had founded. Feudalism, new barbarian invasions, civil wars, and division of the empire sapped the central authority. After a fleeting reunion of the parts under Charles the Fat (884–887), there came a final separation of the Carolingian lands into a number of different kingdoms. In each of these the tendency was toward further separation and a further diminution of the powers of the crown. Society was in danger of being reduced to anarchy, and how to check this tendency was one of the problems of the immediate future. The gradual rise of the feudal system furnished a rude yet elastic bond, in which personal service, landholding, and political allegiance were intertwined; the result was a new society, ruled by the heavily armed, mounted knight, intrenched in his almost impregnable castle.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Louis the Pious a good man? Was he a good ruler? (2) Compare the later Carolingian kings with the later Merovingians. (3) How did the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants aid the growth of feudalism? (4) What other factors coöperated? (5) Compare the ninth century Northmen with the fifth century Franks. (6) How does a feudal society differ from a modern state as regards taxation, coining money, administration of justice, maintenance of an army, etc.? (7) Why are such institutions as the Peace and Truce of God no longer necessary?

Search topics

(8) Reformatory measures of Louis the Pious. (9) The treaty of Verdun and its significance. (10) Raids of the Northmen in the ninth century. (11) The lord's obligations. (12) The vassal's obligations. (13) Description of a battle in the Middle Ages. (14) Arms and armor of the knight. (15) Jousts and tournaments. (16) The Peace and Truce of God. (17) Forces hostile to feudalism. (18) The advantages and disadvantages of feudalism. (19) Non-European feudalism (Japan).

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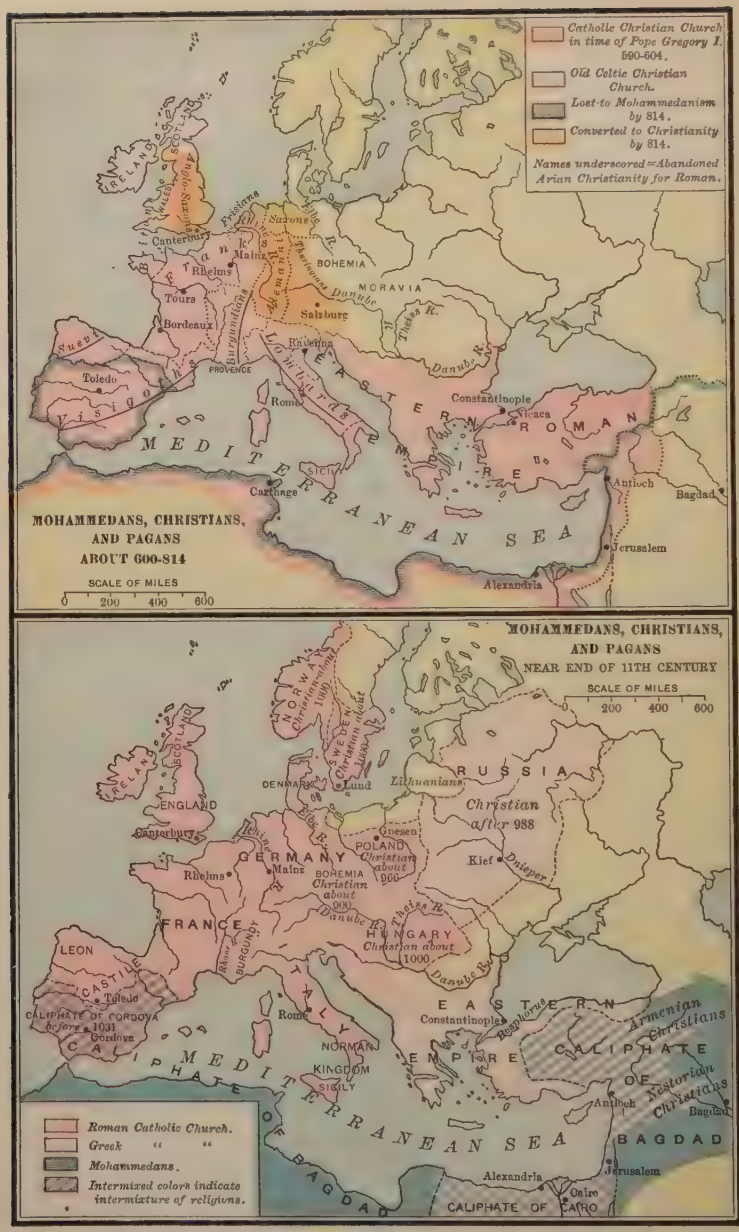
Catholic Christian Church in time of Pope Gregory I. 590-604.
Old Celtic Christian Church.
Lost to Mohammedanism by 814.
Converted to Christianity by 814.
Names underscored = Abandoned Arian Christianity for Roman.
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS ABOUT 600-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
VISIGOTHS
LOMBARDS
PROVENCE
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Constantinople
Nicaea
Antioch
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Carthage
Rome
Ravenna
Salzburg
Bordeaux
Tours
Rheims
Mainz
Canterbury
Toledo
Saxons
Franks
Thuringians
Burgundians
Alemanni
Lombards
Avars
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Angles
Jutes
Picts
Scots
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS NEAR END OF 11TH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
NORWAY
Christianized 1000
SWEDEN
Christian Pagan 1000
DENMARK
Lund
RUSSIA
Lithuanians
Christian after 988
Kief
Dnieper
Dniester
ENGLAND
Canterbury
Thames R.
Rhine R.
GERMANY
Rheims
Mainz
POLAND
Christian about 900
Gnesen
BOHEMIA
Christian about 900
FRANCE
Seine R.
BURGUNDY
HUNGARY
Christian about 1000
Danube R.
Theiss R.
LEON
CASTILE
Toledo
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA before 1031
Cordova
ITALY
Rome
NORMAN KINGDOM SICILY
EASTERN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Bosphorus
Armenian Christians
CALIPHATE OF Nestorian Christians
Antioch
Bagdad
BAGDAD
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Cairo
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Roman Catholic Church.
Greek " "
Mohammedans.
Intermixed colors indicate intermixture of religions.

CHAPTER IV.

SUCCESSORS OF THE CAROLINGIANS IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (911–1024)

The dissolution of the Carolingian empire, the rise of feudalism, and new barbarian invasions made the end of the ninth century a time of confusion and disorder. The Viking raids of the Northmen still continued. The Saracens held Sicily securely, again and again fastened themselves upon southern and central Italy, and long held a post on the coast of Provence. The Slavs beyond the lower Elbe, and in Bohemia and Moravia, proved troublesome. From out of far-distant Asia came the Magyars, or Hungarians, another of those terrible swarms which, like the Huns, the Avars, and later the Turks, threatened to destroy civilization; settling in the rich plains of the middle Danube and the Theiss (896), they extended their raids into Italy, Germany, and France. Europe seemed relapsing into barbarism and chaos; disorder, weakness, and ignorance increased; and not until the middle of the tenth century did improvement come.

43. Beginning of the tenth century

The worst part of the Hungarian attack fell upon Germany, where the weakness of the central power after the fall of the Carolingians threw the burden of defense on local counts and dukes. These officers used the opportunity to build up a number of powerful, semi-national duchies. Thenceforth, though nominally a monarchy, the German government took on the character of a confederation, governed by the hereditary princes who ruled the great duchies.

44. Disintegration of Germany

There were four of these German duchies in the tenth and

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude East from Greenwich
L. L. POATES, ENGRS CO., N.Y.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
POMERANIA
SAXONY
POLAND
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
GERMANY
LORRAINE
SWABIA
BAVARIA
HUNGARY
BURGUNDY
LOMBARDY
CROATIA
Gulf of Genoa
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Tiber R.
Po R.
Rome
Naples
Venice
Milan
Prague
Vienna
Paris
Marseilles
Lyons
Avignon
Genoa
Florence
Ravenna
Ancona
Perugia
Spoleto
Benevento
Bari
Brindisi
Salerno
Messina
Catania
Palermo
Trent
Verona
Aquileia
Belluno
Brixen
Salzburg
Ratisbon (Regensburg)
Passau
Wittelsbach
Freising
Augsburg
Ulm
Hohenstaufen Castle
Constance
Basel
Zurich
St. Gall
Besançon
Troyes
Metz
Verdun
Toul
Strasburg
Spires
Worms
Mainz
Treves
Frankfort
Bamberg
Fulda
Erfurt
Hesse
Thuringia
Saxon Ostmark
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Brunswick
Goslar
Halberstadt
Hamburg
March of the Billungs
North March
Thuringian March
Carinthian March
Carniola
Istria
Pentapolis
Patrimony of St. Peter
Duchy of Spoleto
Duchy of Benevento
Gaeta
Amalfi
Naples
Duchy of Ravenna
Exarchate of Ravenna
Kingdom of Burgundy
Kingdom of Lombardy
Duchy of Swabia
Duchy of Bavaria
Duchy of Carinthia
Duchy of Lorraine
Upper Lorraine
Lower Lorraine
Friesland
Utrecht
Groningen
Bremen
Paderborn
Aachen
Cologne
Liège
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Boulogne
Cambray
Chalons
Rheims
Laon
Clairvaux
Cîteaux
Cluny
Grenoble
Chartreuse
Turin
Pavia
Tortona
Bergamo
Brescia
Mantua
Ferrara
Modena
Bologna
Parma
Piacenza
Pisa
Corsica
Sardinia
Posen
Gnesen
Breslau
Olmutz
Danzig
Under rule of Poles
1003-1004 under rule of Poles
1003-1029 under rule of Poles
Hungarians
Warthe R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Inn R.
Main R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Saône R.
Rhone R.
Var R.
Arno R.
Adige R.
Ticino R.
Oglio R.
Mincio R.
Brenta R.
Piave R.
Tagliamento R.
Isonzo R.
Aquileia
Grado
Venice
Verona
Brixen
Trent
Belluno
Salzburg
Passau
Ratisbon
Vienna
Prague
Olmutz
Breslau
Posen
Gnesen
Danzig
Hamburg
Bremen
Groningen
Utrecht
Aachen
Cologne
Liège
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Boulogne
Cambray
Chalons
Rheims
Laon
Clairvaux
Cîteaux
Cluny
Grenoble
Chartreuse
Turin
Pavia
Tortona
Bergamo
Brescia
Mantua
Ferrara
Modena
Bologna
Parma
Piacenza
Pisa
Corsica
Sardinia
Posen
Gnesen
Breslau
Olmutz
Danzig

eleventh centuries, not counting Lotharingia (Lorraine), which was sometimes German and sometimes French. (1) In the valley of the Danube, and its tributary the Inn, lay the duchy of Bavaria, with Ratisbon (Regensburg) as its principal city. (2) To the west, embracing the head waters of the Rhine and Danube and taking in what is now eastern Switzerland, was the duchy of Swabia. (3) North of this, including the middle course of the Rhine, the valley of the Main, and the lower course of the river Neckar, was the duchy of Franconia. (4) North of this again, in the low plains drained by the Ems, the Weser, and the lower Elbe, lay the duchy of Saxony. Thuringia was loosely connected with Saxony, as Friesland was with Lotharingia. Each of the duchies was subdivided into counties; and over the border counties (styled *marks*, or "marches") the counts acquired such large powers that they became practically independent of their dukes. Thus the *Ostmark* (East March) of Bavaria, established as a defense against the Hungarians, developed into *Oesterreich* (Austria); and the North March of Saxony, into Brandenburg, a nucleus of the present kingdom of Prussia.

45. Early Saxon kings of Germany (919–973)

On the death of Louis the Child (§ 30), Conrad I., duke of Franconia, was elected king (911–918). The Saxon duke, however, proved stronger than King Conrad; and on his deathbed Conrad sent the insignia of royalty to Henry, "the Fowler," head of the Saxon house, who was thereupon elected king; and for five successive reigns the crown remained in this family.[1] During a nine-years' truce with the Hungarians Henry I. (919–936) gave a great impulse to town life in Saxony by building numerous fortified places, in which one out of every nine free peasants should dwell, to receive and store up a third of the harvests of the other eight; he also transformed the Saxon infantry into cavalry, and was thus enabled to repulse the next Hungarian attack (933).

[1] See table at foot of p. 98.

The greatest of the Saxon kings was Henry's son, Otto I. (936–973). He ably warred against the Hungarians, and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat (955) on the river Lech, near Augsburg; after this they gradually settled down to agricultural and pastoral life. Under their king, Saint Stephen (979–1038), they were converted to Christianity; and in the year 1000 they were received into the family of European nations by the gift of a royal crown from the Pope. By their settlement in Europe and acceptance of Roman Christianity, the boundary of Western Christendom was shifted far eastward.

Otto's reign saw the beginning of an important German expansion northeastward, at the expense of the Slavs, which won for modern Germany some of its most important territory. The king of the Bohemians was forced to recognize Otto as his overlord, and his people were brought within the circle of German influence. Step by step with the extension of German rule, went the progress of Christianity: an archbishopric was established at Magdeburg (in 967), and a number of bishoprics dependent on it were erected; and from these centers civilization and Christianity slowly radiated among the neighboring Slavs. The duke of the Poles had accepted Christianity in 966, and his successor established a powerful but unstable kingdom.

Ring Seal of Otto I.

46. Italy and the papacy (887–950)

The way, meanwhile, was prepared for the extension of German influence in Italy. Since the downfall of Charles the Fat (887) Italy had suffered many ills. Saracen and Hungarian raids had devastated the land, and whole cities were ruined. Feudalism, which in other countries was a defense to the people, here encountered strong opposition from the artisan and merchant classes; and municipal governments,

centering about the bishops of the towns, came into existence to combat the seigneurs. A series of shadowy kings and emperors arose, seeking to lay the foundations of a national monarchy; but, as a writer of the time said, "The Italians always wish to have two masters, in order to keep the one in check by the other"; thus no ruler won undisputed recognition, and disunited Italy, for nine hundred years, endured the rule of strangers.

Liutprand of Cremona

Why was not the Pope the head and defender of Italy? The reason was that the papacy was suffering from the same anarchy that attacked the empire. Deprived of the protection of a strong imperial power, it became a prey to corrupt and greedy local nobles; and violence, bloodshed, and scandal prevailed through the greater part of the first half of the tenth century.

The disorders in Italy finally forced Otto I. to intervene in 951; and ten years later he led an army a second time into Italy. At Milan he now assumed the iron crown of Lombardy; and at Rome, on February 2, 962, he was crowned Emperor by the Pope. A few days later he confirmed all the grants that had been made to the Popes by Pepin and Charlemagne, and decreed that the papal elections should thereafter be conducted with the fullest liberty.

47. Revival of the Empire by Otto I. (962)

The coronation of Otto revived the imperial title and refounded the empire of Charlemagne, to last (at least in name) for about eight centuries and a half longer. The new empire differed in some important respects from the former one. France no longer made part of it, and imperial interests were confined almost entirely to Germany and Italy. The very title used, that of "the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation," indicates its Teutonic nature. The close connection between Germany and Italy, which the empire brought about, proved hurtful to both: to Italy it brought the ruin of all hopes of nationality and of a native government;

for Germany it meant the sacrifice of the substance of power at home for the shadow of dominion beyond the Alps. To the papacy alone the connection was of immediate value, for the imperial power protected it against the greed and corruption of local nobles.

48. The later Saxon Emperors (973–1002)

It was largely the personal qualities of Otto I. — his energy, courage, and military skill — that made his reign so successful. His son, Otto II. (973–983), struggled with fair success against forces which fear of Otto I. had kept in check; but his death at the early age of twenty-eight left the throne to his three-year-old son, Otto III. (983–1002). In the minority of Otto III., first his mother Theophano (a Byzantine princess), and then his grandmother Adelaide, watched over the empire as regents. Again there were rebellions, and Slav and Danish invasions, and the royal authority declined. In 996 Otto was declared of age, visited Rome with an army, and was crowned Emperor. His character was a strange mixture of religious enthusiasm, exalted imperial dreams, and practical weakness. His closest friend and teacher was a French monk named Gerbert, who had studied in Spain, and whose rare mathematical knowledge made him seem a magician to after ages; in 999 Gerbert became Pope, with the name Sylvester II. — the first French Pope. In pursuit of his imperial dreams, Otto abandoned Germany and made Rome his capital, where he surrounded himself with high-sounding officials and an elaborate ceremonial in imitation of the Byzantine court. Soon the fickle Romans revolted; and hurt at their ingratitude, Otto wandered about Italy, until his death in January of the next year (1002). The German nobles, meanwhile, multiplied their castles and independent jurisdictions, and ruined the land with violence and warfare.

With the death of Otto III. the male line of Otto the Great came to an end, and there was again opportunity for a free

election. The choice fell upon the duke of Bavaria (a great-grandson of Henry I.; p. 98), who reigned as Henry II. (1002–1024). Abandoning the romantic dreams of Otto III., he concerned himself with defending and reorganizing Germany; in Italy he seldom appeared. The name Henry "the Saint," given him by mediæval historians, was merited by the conscientiousness with which he performed his religious duties, and the gifts and favors he showered upon the church; but he ruled the clergy, not they him.

From Germany and Italy we must turn to France. There the chief events of the tenth century were (1) the establishment of the Northmen on French soil, and (2) the final overthrow of the Carolingian dynasty.

49. Duchy of Normandy founded (911)

The repulse of the Northmen from Paris, in 886, did not prevent them from settling in increasing numbers in the lands about the lower Seine. In 911 their leader was Rolf (or Rollo), called "the Ganger" or "the Walker," because his gigantic size prevented his finding a horse to carry him. Under his leadership, says an old writer, "the pagans, like wolves of the night, fell upon the sheepfolds of Christ; the churches were burned, women dragged off captive, the people slain." Many times the invaders had been bought off with gifts of money; it was now resolved to follow the example of England and buy them off with a grant of land. At a meeting between the French king and Rolf, in 911, it was agreed that Rolf should have the lands about the lower Seine as the vassal of the king of France, that he should cease his attacks, and that he and his followers should become Christians. The name Normandy (Northmen's land) was soon given this region, and the Northmen ceased to trouble the kingdom.

William of Jumièges

Rolf and the Norman dukes after him were men of ability, and the race itself was of the sturdiest Teutonic stock. With remarkable rapidity the Normans took on their neighbors'

religion, language, and customs. Normandy became a feudal principality, differing from the other fiefs of northern France only in the ability with which it was governed, and the hardy and adventurous character of its inhabitants. "O France," exclaims a historian of the eleventh century, "thou wast bowed down, crushed to earth. . . . Behold, there comes to thee from Denmark a new race. . . . That race shall raise thy name and thy empire, even unto the heavens!" In the Norman conquest of England and of southern Italy (hereafter to be related), in the leading part which the Normans played in the Crusades, and in the hardy character of their seamen to the end of the Middle Ages, evidences of their superior vigor and daring were abundantly given.

Dudo, History of the Normans

The final overthrow of the Carolingian house in France was effected by a member of the family of that Count Odo who won fame in the defense of Paris in 886. The power of this family (called Robertians, after an ancestor, Robert the Strong) rested (1) on the ability of its heads as warriors and statesmen; (2) on the possession of great estates in northern France, more extensive even than those possessed by the Carolingian kings; and (3) on the office of "Duke of the French," which gave the holder the military supremacy in northern France. The hundred years following the siege of Paris was one long contest for the throne between the Carolingians and the Robertians. The successive kings of this period are shown in the table on p. 44. The reign of the Carolingian Charles the Simple (§ 30) was followed by a period of Robertian rule (922–936), and this in turn by the reigns of three Carolingian kings: Louis IV. (936–954), called Louis "D'Outremer" from his residence "beyond the sea" in England at the time of his accession; Lothair (954–986); and Louis V. (986–987), who died of a fall from a horse, leaving no child.

50. Rival dynasties in France (888–987)

These last Carolingians saw their power grow steadily less. The head of the Robertian house at the close of the period

was Hugh Capet, so called from the cape or hood which he wore; of his power it was said by one of his chief supporters, "Lothair is king in name only; Hugh does not bear the title, but he is king in fact." When Lothair's son and successor died without children, the way was clear for Hugh to secure the throne.

51. Capetian dynasty established (987)

For the past hundred years the throne of France had really been elective, the great nobles choosing the king now from one family and now from the other. In the assembly called in 987 to settle the succession, it was possible for the archbishop of Rheims, the leading clergyman of the kingdom, to use this language: "We are not ignorant that Charles of Lorraine [brother of Lothair] has partisans who pretend that the throne belongs to him by right of birth. But if the question is put in that fashion, we will say that the crown is not acquired by hereditary right, and that he alone should be raised to the throne who is distinguished by elevation of character as well as by blood." His arguments won the day, and Hugh was chosen king "of the Gauls, Bretons, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Basques," — that is, king of all France. The mention of these different peoples shows how far they were from being welded as yet into a single nation.

Richer, bk. iv. ch. xi.

The change of dynasty in France is to be looked upon as entirely the result of a combination of persons and circumstances, due to no difference of principles. Yet it was an event of prime importance, for it gave to France a line of rulers (lasting to the end of the eighteenth century) who transformed the elective monarchy into an hereditary one, and built up, on the foundations laid by the Carolingians, the first strong, centralized, modern state.

52. The Normans in southern Italy

The energy and daring which produced the Northmen's settlements in England and France manifested itself in other exploits. Viking bands from the mother lands of the north discovered and settled Iceland (861–875)

and Greenland (983), and even visited "Vinland" or America (about the year 1000). In Russia (about 862) Swedish Vikings established a dynasty which ruled that land for seven hundred years. The Normans, or descendants of the Northmen on French soil, were also to make further conquests: the circumstances which established their duke as king of England are related in another chapter (§ 158); second in importance only to this was their establishment in southern Italy.

NORSE ART.

Carved door from an old church in Iceland; now in Copenhagen Museum. From Du Chaillu's *The Viking Age*.

Since the days of Charlemagne, the East-Roman (Byzantine) or Greek Empire had preserved an uncertain foothold in southern Italy, threatened by the growth of feudal lordships, by the pretensions of German kings, and by Saracen invasions. Sicily since 878 had been almost wholly Saracen, and Sardinia, after 900, was also in Mohammedan

hands. In the first half of the ninth century, Saracens had gained a footing in southern Italy, and though they were temporarily dislodged, no permanent relief could be hoped for while the neighboring lands were theirs. Early in the eleventh century (1017) a new factor entered when a revolted noble enlisted Norman adventurers against the Greek governor. Soon other Normans flocked thither, to take service under different princes and nobles, selling their swords to the highest bidders. Presently they began to establish a power of their own; and in 1071 they took Bari, the last possession of the Greek governors in Italy.

In these conquests five of the twelve sons of a poor Norman noble played principal parts. The eldest, William of the Iron Arm, began the work of expelling both the Greeks from Apulia and the Saracens from Sicily; his brothers assisted and continued the task. The fourth brother, Robert Guiscard (which means "the cunning"), made the greatest name for himself. The daughter of the Greek Emperor describes him as he appeared to his enemies: "His high stature excelled that of the most mighty warriors. His complexion was ruddy, his hair fair, his shoulders broad, his eyes flashed fire. It is said that his voice was like the voice of a whole multitude, and could put to flight an army of sixty thousand men." Like all the Normans, he was a cruel conqueror, and to this day ruined cities bear witness to his ferocity. Before he died (in 1085) all southern Italy acknowledged him as lord, save only the lands about the Bay of Naples, and the papal duchy of Benevento.

The conquests of Roger, the youngest of the family, were equally remarkable. On the invitation of discontented Christians, he landed in Sicily in the year 1060, and after thirty years of untiring warfare he succeeded in conquering the last of that island from its Saracen rulers.

In Italy and Sicily the Norman princes showed the same tolerance for the language, laws, customs, and beliefs of the

conquered, and the same adaptability to new conditions, that they displayed elsewhere. The result was that on the ruins of Greek, Lombard, and Saracen power they erected a strong feudal state which, with some inevitable changes, lasted until the establishment of the present kingdom of Italy in the nineteenth century.

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53. Summary

Reviewing the developments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see that one of the problems presented by the dissolution of the Carolingian empire had been solved; the centrifugal tendency had been brought under control, and political disintegration checked. Feudalism, with its organization of society on the basis of private contract developing into hereditary right, proved a uniting as well as a disintegrating force; it served to bind together, however loosely, the fragments of society until other and stronger ties could operate. Monarchical government proved another political tie. Germany under the Saxon kings seemed nearer to attaining national monarchical union than any other Carolingian land; but this result the tendencies of the next three centuries were to defeat. In France and England the foundations of strong monarchies were laid, in the one by the accession of Hugh Capet, in the other by the Norman Conquest. These countries, therefore, earlier than any others in the West, were to attain unity and strength. The revival of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto the Great (962) gave a fictitious unity to Western Christendom by its claims to theoretical subordination of all kingdoms to itself; but the imperial supremacy was seldom recognized in fact, and the persistence of the Empire was more important for its bearing on men's aspirations and ideals than for its influence on practical policies.

With the checking of political disintegration went on a widening of the area of Western civilization. Hungarians, Bohemians, and Poles were formed into Christian kingdoms,

while other Slavonic tribes were absorbed into Germany. The Christian kingdoms of Scandinavia — Norway, Denmark, and Sweden — arose, and offshoots of the Northmen's race established themselves in France, Italy, and England. In Spain, Christian principalities slowly gained ground at the expense of the Mohammedans; in Russia, civilization and Christianity made their way from Constantinople among the native Slavs and their Swedish rulers. The Eastern Empire held its own against the Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Servians (a Slavonic people) who beset it on the north, and against the Mohammedans who attacked it from the east. Christianity and civilization, in short, maintained themselves, and slowly spread from the Mediterranean countries towards the farthest confines of Europe.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Compare the weakness of the Carolingian empire in the ninth and tenth centuries with that of Rome in the fourth and fifth. (2) Was the decline due primarily to the increase of dangers from without or to decay within? (3) Why did Germany suffer most from the Hungarians? (4) Why were the Northmen the chief enemies of France? (5) Why should the border counts gain larger powers than the counts in other regions? (6) How long had the Saxons been Christians when their duke became king? (7) With what movements in our own history may the German expansion eastward be compared? (8) Compare the empire of Otto I. with that of Charlemagne. (9) Show on an outline map the extent of the empire under the Saxon emperors, marking the German duchies. (10) Was the grant of Normandy to Rolf a wise or an unwise step on the part of the French king? (11) Did it benefit or injure France? (12) How does the Norman conquest of southern Italy differ from the Northmen's settlement in France?

Search topics

(13) The coming of the Hungarians. (14) Henry I.'s fortresses and army reorganization. (15) Victory over the Huns on the Lech. (16) Character of Otto I. (17) His first expedition to Italy and marriage to Adelaide. (18) Gerbert as scholar and teacher. (19) Decline of the Carolingians in France. (20) Hugh Capet. (21) The Northmen in Russia. (22) The discovery and settlement of Iceland. (23) The Normans in Italy. (24) Robert Guiscard.

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Secondary authorities Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, chs. iii.–v.; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xvii.; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire* (revised ed.), chs. vii.–ix.; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 12–51; Henderson, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, chs. viii.–x.; Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. x.; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, ch. viii.; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, III. bk. v. chs. xi.–xiii.; Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I. 94–102; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Bury's ed.), VI. chs. lv. lvi.; Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, III. bk. vi. chs. v. vi.; Kitchin, *France*, I. bk. ii. ch. v.; *Historians' History of the World*, VII. 595–645.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The unbroken rule of the church over the lives and spirits of mankind, down to the time of the Reformation, is the most striking feature of mediæval history. Through the organized church, the barbarians who had overwhelmed the Roman Empire were brought into the Christian fold; and it afterwards exerted a powerful force among the Western nations toward establishing political unity and promoting uniformity of manners, of usages, of law, and of religion. Despite the ignorance, ambition, and corruption which crept into it, the church persistently held aloft a higher standard of morals than that of the laity, and championed the cause of the poor and oppressed in an age of violence and sensuality. Of its head a Protestant historian says, "The papacy as a whole showed more of enlightenment, moral purpose, and political wisdom than any succession of kings or emperors that mediæval Europe knew."

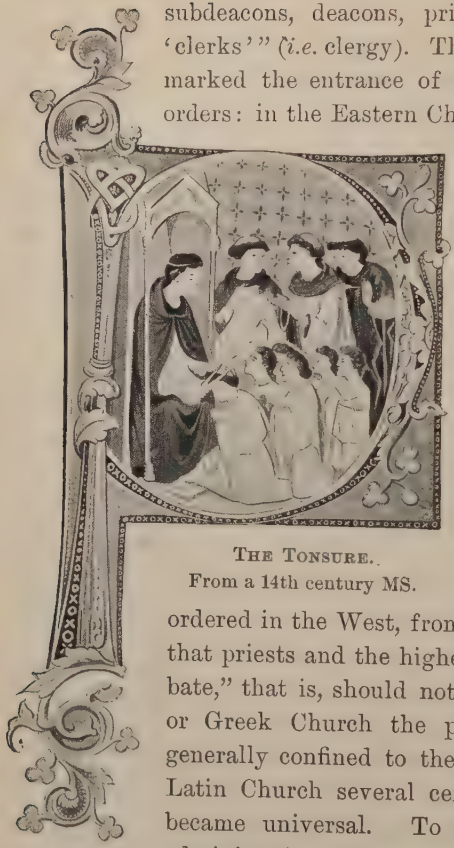
54. Influence of the church

Walker, Reformation, 5

Very early there arose a legal setting off of the clergy from the laity. To the clergy alone were committed the conduct of worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the government and discipline of the Christian community. As time passed, the distinctions between the two classes became deeper, the one being likened to the soul, the other to the body. Gradually a hierarchy of orders and offices was formed among the clergy. Says the twelfth-century author of a popular text-book: "Seven are the ecclesiastical ranks, to wit: doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes,

55. The clergy as an order

Peter Lombard, Sententiæ



THE TONSURE.
From a 14th century MS.

subdeacons, deacons, priests; but all are called 'clerks'" (*i.e.* clergy). The ceremony of "tonsure" marked the entrance of the candidate into minor orders: in the Eastern Church this meant the clipping of the hair over the whole head; in the Roman or Latin Church, the top only was shaved, leaving a narrow strip all around. The clergy wore garments of peculiar cut, to distinguish them from the laity and one order from another. That they might serve God with more singleness of purpose, it was ordered in the West, from the fourth century on, that priests and the higher clergy should be "celibate," that is, should not marry. In the Eastern or Greek Church the practice of celibacy was generally confined to the monks, and even in the Latin Church several centuries passed before it became universal. To secure independence in administering religious rites, the clergy claimed "immunity" from the secular law and the secular courts, so that a clergyman might be tried only before ecclesiastical courts, and by church or "canon" law. This privilege, known as "benefit of clergy," crept sooner or later into the laws of every nation of Europe; and the evils in it were seen when persons who had no intention of becoming priests became clerics, or clerks, merely that they might secure protection in their misdeeds.

The power of the clergy rested upon the position of the priest as mediator between God and man, and as the authoritative teacher in matters of faith and morals. In the teaching of the church, the "sacraments" were recognized as the ordinary channels of divine grace, and these (with the exception of baptism and matrimony) the clergy only could validly administer. The sacraments were seven in number: (1) In the sacrament of Baptism the child (or adult) was made a member of the Christian community. (2) Confirmation admitted him into full fellowship. (3) The Holy Eucharist (or Lord's Supper), administered in the Mass, was the central feature of mediæval worship, for in this rite the spirit of the participant was strengthened by the reception of the body and blood of the Savior. The term "transubstantiation" was introduced in the thirteenth century to designate precisely that the substance of the bread

56. The sacraments

THREE SACRAMENTS: ORDINATION, MARRIAGE, EXTREME UNCTION.

Part of a triptych painted in the 14th century; Antwerp Museum.

and the substance of the wine were changed *into* the substance of the body and blood of Christ, only the appearances or "accidents" (such as color, taste, etc.) of bread and wine remaining. (4) Penance included confession to the priest at least once a year, the performance of various acts to test the reality of repentance, and absolution by the priest from the guilt of sin. (5) Extreme Unction was the anointing with oil of those about to die; it strengthened the soul for its dark journey and cleansed from the remainder of venial sins. (6) Ordination was the rite whereby one was made a member of the various grades of the clergy. (7) Matrimony was the sacrament by which a Christian man and woman were joined in lawful wedlock.

The theory underlying the whole system was that the sacraments derived their force from the power which Christ gave the Apostles and which they transmitted to their successors. Any priest might administer most sacraments, but only bishops could ordain.

To carry on the work of the church, officers of various ranks were necessary. At the bottom of the structure were the parish Priests. The first Christian churches were naturally in populous cities; but subordinate churches were soon erected, and offshoots arose in country districts. Eventually the whole of Western Christendom was divided into "parishes," each with its parish church and parish priest. The priest was appointed by the bishop, but laymen who gave lands to found the churches usually reserved to themselves and their successors the right of "patronage," that is, of nominating to it some ordained clerk.

57. Ecclesiastical hierarchy; Priests

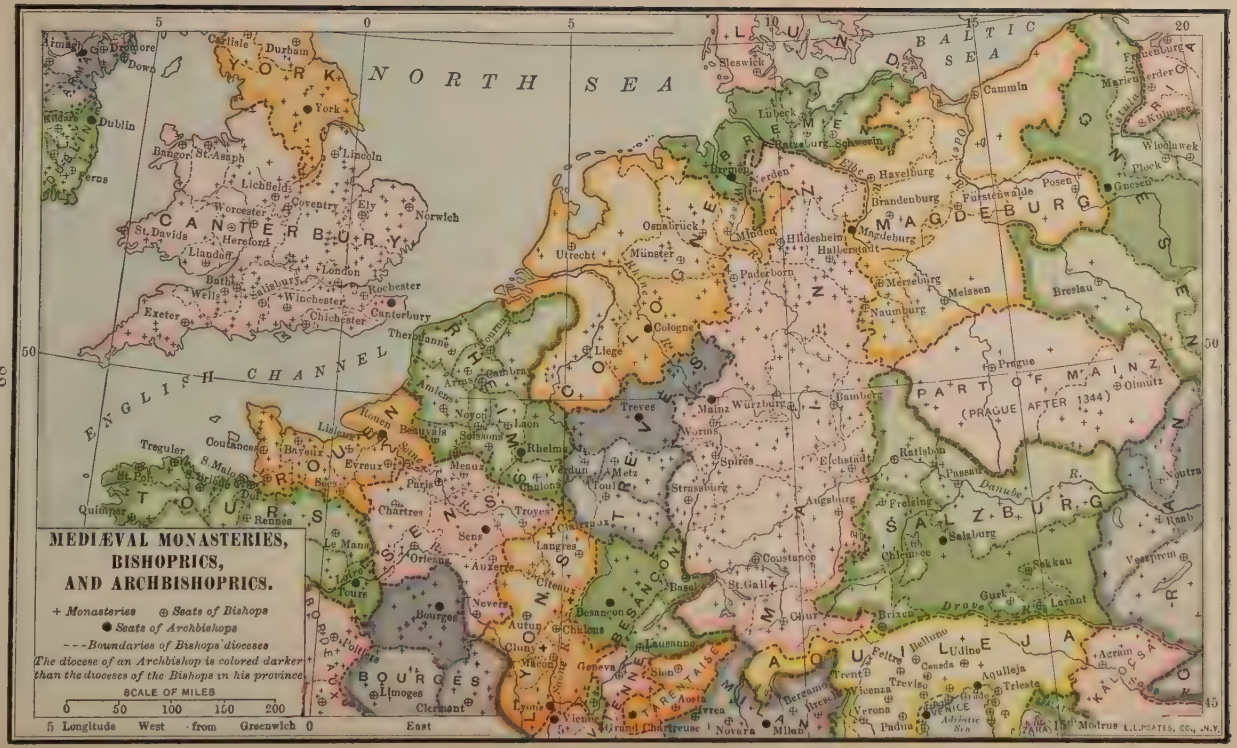
The parishes, in turn, were grouped into "dioceses," each diocese under the Bishop of that "see" (bishopric). The word "bishop" (*episcopus*) means "overseer" and aptly characterized his functions. He watched over the work of the diocese, visiting and disciplining the clergy, consecrating

58. Bishops

churches, and administering the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. The "tithe," or church due of one tenth of all the produce of the soil, was paid to his agents, and by him apportioned among the parishes. He presided in person (or through his "archdeacon") over the ecclesiastical court of the diocese; to this all the clergy, and also laymen in many kinds of cases, were amenable. In his "synods," or diocesan councils, ecclesiastical legislation was passed. He enforced his judgments and decrees by "excommunication," that is, by cutting off the culprit from Christian fellowship: the greater excommunication, or "anathema" (accomplished "by bell, book, and candle"), not only cut off the person from the rites of the church and thus endangered his soul, but also cut him off from his fellows so that none might buy, sell, eat, or transact business with him. The power of the bishops over both the clergy and the laity was very great; certain influences, however, tended to lessen their authority. Among these were conflicts with the "chapter" of the "cathedral" (as the clergy were called who had charge of the worship in the bishop's church); for the fact that the members of the chapter (called "canons") came to enjoy the right — at least in theory — of electing the bishop, greatly strengthened their position. The "archdeacon" also sought to make his authority independent of the bishop.

59. Archbishops

The dioceses were grouped together into "provinces," over each of which was an Archbishop. In addition to his powers and duties as bishop of one of the dioceses, the archbishop supervised the work of the church throughout his province. His special mark of distinction was the "pallium," a narrow band of white wool worn loosely around the neck; this could be conferred only by the Pope. The archbishop's cathedral was usually in the most important city of the province, so he was spoken of as the "metropolitan." In each country there was a tendency for some one archbishop


NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
YORK
CANTERBURY
MAGDEBURG
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
MECKLENBURG
HOLSTEIN
HANOVER
WESTPHALIA
NETHERLANDS
COLOGNE
TREVES
MAINZ
PART OF MAINZ (PRAGUE AFTER 1344)
BOHEMIA
SALZBURG
TYROL
BAVARIA
FRANCONIA
SWABIA
ALSACE
LORRAINE
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SAVOY
MILAN
VENICE
AQUILEJA
TOURS
BOURGES
SENS
RHEIMS
BESANÇON
ARLES
AUCH
BORDEAUX
TOULOUSE
NARBONNE
AIX
VIENNE
LYONS
BOURGES
Dublin
Armagh
Carlisle
Durham
York
Lincoln
Norwich
Lichfield
Coventry
Worcester
Hereford
St. Davids
Llandaff
Bath
Salisbury
Wells
Exeter
London
Winchester
Chichester
Rochester
Canterbury
Thérouanne
Amiens
Arras
Cambrai
Liège
Utrecht
Münster
Osnabrück
Minden
Paderborn
Cologne
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Havelberg
Lübeck
Bremen
Verden
Hamburg
Schwerin
Ratzeburg
Sleswick
Cammin
Posen
Gnesen
Plock
Wieldawek
Marienwerder
Kulmsee
Breslau
Meissen
Merseburg
Naumburg
Prague
Olmütz
Bamberg
Würzburg
Mainz
Worms
Treves
Metz
Toul
Verdun
Rheims
Soissons
Laon
Noyon
Beauvais
Rouen
Lisieux
Bayeux
Coutances
Evreux
Meaux
Paris
Orleans
Chartres
Troyes
Sens
Auxerre
Nevers
Bourges
Tours
Le Mans
Angers
Rennes
Quimper
St. Pol de Leon
St. Malo
Dol
Treguier
Limoges
Clermont
Autun
Chalons
Langres
Besançon
Basel
St. Gall
Constance
Lausanne
Geneva
Sion
Aosta
Ivrea
Novara
Milan
Lyons
Vienne
Grand Chartreuse
Macon
Cluny
Chateau
Augsburg
Strasburg
Spires
Eichstädt
Ratisbon
Passau
Freising
Salzburg
Chiemsee
Brixen
Gurk
Sekkau
Vorau
Kanb
Vestprem
Raab
Danube R.
Drave R.
Gur
Belluno
Feltre
Udine
Trent
Verona
Vicenza
Padua
Treviso
Ceneda
Aquileja
Trieste
Agram
Modrus
Adriatic Sea
Grado
Lavant
Mur R.
Save R.
Vistula R.
Warta R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Rhine R.
Moselle R.
Meuse R.
Somme R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Brenta R.
Piave R.
Tagliamento R.
Isonzo R.
Kulpa R.
Save R.
Drave R.
Mur R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Lech R.
Iller R.
Neckar R.
Main R.
Moselle R.
Meuse R.
Somme R.
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Loire R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Brenta R.
Piave R.
Tagliamento R.
Isonzo R.
Kulpa R.
Save R.
Drave R.
Mur R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Lech R.
Iller R.
Neckar R.
Main R.
MEDIÆVAL MONASTERIES, BISHOPRICS, AND ARCHBISHOPRICS.
+ Monasteries ⊕ Seats of Bishops
● Seats of Archbishops
--- Boundaries of Bishops' dioceses
The diocese of an Archbishop is colored darker than the dioceses of the Bishops in his province.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
5 Longitude West from Greenwich 0 East 15
L. L. POATES, CO., N.Y.

to gain preëminence over the others, and be recognized as "primate"; thus the Archbishop of Canterbury was primate of all England, while the Archbishops of Rheims and Mainz claimed preëminence respectively in France and Germany. A few archbishops (especially those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome) were styled "patriarchs," and held positions of exceptional power and dignity.

Great estates — usually the gift of pious individuals or of repentant sinners — came to be attached to the episcopal and archiepiscopal "sees." Such estates were often held by feudal tenure; and thus the clergy tended to become feudalized equally with the laity, and the spiritually minded were scandalized by seeing bishops, clad in coats of mail, lead their vassals to battle. High political offices (especially in Germany and England) were conferred upon the clergy; and this fact further complicated the relations of church and state. On the one side the higher clergy found their independence threatened by the temporal powers; on the other their influence was subordinated to that of Rome.

60. Pope and cardinals

At the head of the whole system stood the Papacy. Many causes contributed to make the Bishop of Rome the "universal overseer," or head of the whole Western Church. The political importance of Rome, the wealth of the church there, the singular ability and moderation which its bishops showed in doctrinal disputes, the martyrdom and burial at Rome of Saint Peter and Saint Paul — all were factors in the Roman headship. Most important of all, that headship rested upon the belief that Peter had been made by Christ the chief of the Apostles and given "the power of the keys," *i.e.* the power to bind and to loose (Matthew, xvi. 18–19). Peter was regarded as the founder of the bishopric of Rome, and the power given him by Christ he was held to have transmitted to his successors.

To assist the Pope in his work, a clerical council was grad-

ually formed, called the College of Cardinals. This was at first composed of the higher clergy of Rome; later other Italians, and gradually some foreign clergymen, were admitted. The importance of the cardinals as an organized body dates from 1059, when the chief part in papal elections was confided to them.

Besides provincial and diocesan synods,

61. General councils

General or "Ecumenical" Councils of the whole church were called from time to time. The first general council was that held at Nicæa in the year 325 to condemn the Arian heresy. The first eight councils were recognized by the Greek and Latin churches alike; but beginning with the ninth, in 1123, they were really concerned only with the affairs of those who recognized the supremacy of the See of Rome. The council held at the Lateran Church in Rome in 1215 is reckoned the twelfth, and was one of the most imposing assemblages of the true Middle Ages: 412 bishops and 71 archbishops were present, with more than 2000 clerics in all. In the fifteenth century, troubles in the church revived the use of councils; it then became a burning question whether the Pope was above such assemblies, or they above the papacy; that is, whether the Pope, or the council of higher clergy representing the church as a whole, finally revealed the will of God.

ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By the eleventh century the papacy presented three distinct aspects, for the Pope was (1) the bishop in charge of the diocese comprising Rome; (2) the head of the whole Latin Church; and (3) a temporal prince ruling "the States of the Church" in Italy. The formation of his temporal power took place chiefly after the downfall, in the eighth century, of the Byzantine and Lombard rule in central Italy, and was based in part upon grants of secular rulers (§§ 14, 16).

62. Threefold power of the papacy

To understand this subject, we must here touch briefly on the relations of the papal power to the empire, which were a subject of perpetual controversy in the Middle Ages. In the time of Charlemagne, as in the time of Constantine the Great and his successors, the head of the state acted also, in a sense, as head of the church. From the time of Louis the Pious this relation was gradually reversed: the imperial authorization was no longer awaited for papal elections, as was earlier the case; on the other hand, the right of the Pope to confer the imperial crown steadily gained recognition. Louis the Pious, not satisfied with coronation by his father, received recoronation at the hands of the Pope, and permitted his son Lothair to be crowned in the same way. Gradually the custom of coronation by the Pope hardened into a right, and Popes claimed to confer or withhold the imperial crown at pleasure.

In the eighth and ninth centuries appeared the forged Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The former represents Constantine the Great as "cleansed from all the squalor of leprosy" by the prayers of Pope Sylvester I.; in gratitude therefor, on the fourth day after his baptism, he is said to have resolved to forsake the ancient city for a new capital on the Bosphorus, and to have conferred upon the Pope "the city of Rome, and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the Western regions." The False Decretals were a collection,

63. Donation of Constantine and False Decretals

Henderson, Documents, 322–328

claimed to have been found in Spain, of thitherto unknown letters and decrees of early Popes and councils, from the time of Saint Peter to the close of the fourth century; these showed the Popes acting from the first as supreme rulers in the church, judging causes in the last resort and issuing instructions to the clergy of all grades.

The general tendency of the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals was: (1) to elevate the spiritual power, especially the papacy, above the secular; (2) to make the papacy the supreme authority in the church; and (3) to supply an additional basis for the Pope's temporal rule. Both Donation and Decretals are now recognized, by Catholics and Protestants alike, to have been forgeries of the clumsiest sort; but the ignorance and lack of critical inquiry of the Middle Ages caused them to be accepted without question for six hundred years. Protestants and Catholics differ as to the part which these forged documents played in the development of the papal power; but a Catholic historian admits that "the compilers of the Decretals, by stating as facts what were only the opinions or the tendencies of the age, by giving as ancient and authentic documents such as were supposititious and modern, and by putting forward as established rights and legal precedents claims entirely destitute of such warrant, did, in matter of fact, hasten the development and insure the triumph of the very ideas and principles they advocate."

Alzog, Church History, II. 274

Parish priests, bishops, archbishops, and Pope usually belonged to the "secular" clergy, that is, clergy who lived in the "world" (*seculum*); there was also an enormous body of so-called "regulars" who might, under proper circumstances, fill any of these offices. The "regular" clergy were those who lived under a "rule" (*regula*), such as those of the different monastic orders. In the West the rule of Saint Benedict (died 543) was the most important monastic ordi-

64. Benedictine monks

nance. It breathed an essentially mild and practical spirit, as opposed to the wild extravagances of Eastern zealots, like Simeon Stylites, who dwelt for thirty years on the narrow top of a lofty column. Benedict's rule enjoined upon the brethren the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience to their abbot, or head. They were to labor with their hands, especially at agriculture; were to join in public worship once during the night (about two o'clock), and at seven stated "hours" during the day; and were encouraged to copy and read books. They ate together in a "refectory," at which time one of their number was appointed to read aloud; and they slept together in a common dormitory. Each monastery was a settlement complete in itself, surrounded by a wall; and the monks were not allowed to wander forth at will. New monasteries were often located on waste ground, in swamps, and in dense forests; and by reclaiming such lands and teaching better methods of agriculture the monks rendered a great service to society. Schools also were maintained in connection with the monasteries.

BENEDICTINE MONK.
From a 13th century MS.

MONASTERY OF ST. GALL.
From a plan made in 1596.

The house of St. Gall in Switzerland is a type of the great monasteries of the Middle Ages. In the tenth century its estates amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand "plowlands"; and a populous community dwelt about its walls, made up of the laborers, shepherds, and workmen of various trades employed by the monastery, together with the serfs settled on the monastery estates, who were bound to work three days a week for the monastery. The convent itself numbered more than five hundred monks.

The Benedictine monasteries were entirely independent of one another. Theoretically, the bishop had the right of visitation and correction over the monasteries in his diocese; but frequently the monks secured papal grants of "immunity" which freed them from episcopal control. The monasteries often became very wealthy through gifts of lands and goods. Then luxury and corruption crept in, and great nobles sought to secure control of monastic estates, often by the appointment of "lay" abbots who drew the monastery revenues without taking monastic vows. Such periods of decay were followed by times of revival, and these in turn by new decline — and so on to the end of the Middle Ages.

65. Monastic reform: order of Cluny (910-)

The monastery of Cluny, in eastern France (founded 910), was the center of the reform movement in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the reformed monasteries, unlike the Benedictine, were brought into permanent dependence on the abbot of the head monastery, their "priors" being appointed by him. The name "congregation" was given to such a union of monasteries under a single head; and the congregation of Cluny grew until in the twelfth century it numbered more than two thousand monasteries. The strict self-denial of these monks, the splendor of the worship in their churches, their zeal for learning and education, and a succession of distinguished abbots, account for the great spread, throughout Europe, of the Cluniac movement.

Other monastic orders, zealous for reform, arose in the eleventh century. The Carthusians, founded (in 1084) at Grande Chartreuse in the kingdom of Burgundy, introduced something of hermit life into the monastery, each monk being provided with a separate cell in which he lived a life of meditation, study, and silence. The Cistercian order was founded at Cîteaux, in eastern France (in 1098); its rule rejected all luxury and splendor, even in the appointments for worship, and required of its members a rigidly simple life, with an abundance of agricultural labor, in which sheep raising had the predominant part. Its most famous member was Saint Bernard (1091–1153), abbot of Clairvaux; and within a hundred years after his death the order numbered eight hundred houses, scattered all over Europe. In the thirteenth century arose orders of a new sort, the mendicant or begging "friars," of which the chief were the Franciscans and the Dominicans (see § 181). It was not until the sixteenth century that the Jesuits arose.

66. Other monastic orders (1084–)

These various orders were distinguished by differences in the color and cut of their garments, as well as in their mode of life; thus the Benedictines and Cluniacs wore black gowns, the Cistercians and Carthusians white.

In addition to the organizations for men there were also many for women. The "nunneries," or houses of these organizations, were numerous, widespread, and crowded; they offered a safe refuge to defenseless women in an age of violence; and nuns who possessed talent, high birth, or sanctity might rise as abbesses to positions of honor and influence.

With the growth of the church in riches, external influence, and power, came increasing splendor of buildings and ceremonial. The East developed its type of church architecture, called the Byzantine, in which the round or polygonal form of building of Roman days was enlarged and enriched with side galleries, alcoves, and porches; its most

67. Church buildings

famous example is the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople — now a Mohammedan mosque (p. 261; see another on p. 39). In the West, the Roman municipal basilica — an oblong building with the interior divided longitudinally by parallel rows of pillars into two "aisles" and a central "nave" — was at first taken as the model. This developed into the Romanesque type of architecture, characterized by the round arch and a general massiveness of effect. Stone superseded brick as the building material, and, to decrease the danger of fire, stone vaulting replaced the timbered roof. The best examples of this type were produced in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in France.

AMIENS CATHEDRAL.

Built in 13th century; one of the greatest examples of Gothic architecture.

68. Gothic architecture (1150–) The final form assumed by mediæval architecture was the so-called Gothic or pointed style, which originated in northern France about the middle of the twelfth century. In this the walls are less massive, the windows large and numerous, and the vaulted roof raised to prodigious heights on slender, clustered columns. The secret of this construction consists in the strong external columns and arched or "flying" buttresses which take the concentrated

lateral thrusts of the vast pointed arches and relieve the interior columns of all stress except the vertical pressure from the roof. The ground plan of the Gothic cathedral was the Latin cross; the two arms constituted the "transepts," the "choir" corresponded to the short upright, and the "nave" and "aisles" to the lower main part of the cross.

The window openings were filled with pictures in stained glass, whose rich and varied colors added indescribably to the splendor of the interior. Everywhere, within and without, the sculptor's art scattered figures of men, animals, and plants — all emblematical of the aspirations, the hopes, and the fears of mediæval religion. Artists and sculptors vied with one another in representing the history of humanity and of Christianity; along with scenes from the Bible, figures of the saints, and allegorical representations of the virtues and vices, were seen fantastic grinning beasts and demons, the retinue of the devil. Taken as a whole, such scenes "made up a kind of layman's Bible that appealed to the eye and was understood by all."

With the growth of ecclesiastical organization, the worship of the church assumed definite form. Latin was the language of the West at the time that Christianity was introduced, and it became the language of the Roman Church; but in many regions portions of the service, as well as sermons, were given in the language of the people. The order of service included the reading of selected Scripture lessons, the singing of Latin hymns, and the repetition of the creed. Music was improved by the introduction of harmony, and by a system of notation from which grew our modern musical notes and staffs; but church singing was by the choir only. The chief place in the service was given to the celebration of the mass, or Lord's Supper; this was viewed as a perpetual sacrifice of Christ, the benefits of which were available not only for those on earth, but for departed souls undergoing purifica-

69. Church services and worship

tion for sins in Purgatory. From the honors shown to martyrs arose the veneration of the saints, especially of the Virgin Mary, whose intercession was asked both for the living and for the dead. Bones of martyrs, pieces of the cross on which Christ was crucified, and similar relics were cherished and venerated, and made to work miracles of healing. Christmas, Easter, and a host of other church festivals were celebrated with processions and a pomp and splendor of ceremonial which appealed powerfully to the imagination. Rude dramatizations of the Incarnation and Redemption were presented; from these, and from "miracle plays" and "moralities" the modern drama was developed. Preaching played a less prominent part in mediæval religion than it does to-day, though from time to time great preachers arose — like Pope Urban II., Bernard of Clairvaux, and others — to preach a Crusade or a moral reformation. The parish priests, because of the great cost of hand-written books and the lack of schools, were usually poorly educated, and refrained from preaching.

70. Rise of universities (1200–)

To educate the clergy there was need of better organized instruction, and to supply this need universities arose. At Salerno, in Italy, there was early a school devoted to the study of medicine; at Bologna arose famous teachers of civil and canon law; at Paris were schools famed for the teaching of philosophy and theology; at other points also, about cathedrals and monasteries, schools were in existence. The thirteenth century saw a growth in definiteness of organization in church, in state, and in city communities; and, touched by the same movement, these early schools were transformed into the universities of the Middle Ages, under papal or royal charter. Abelard (1079–1142), one of the most famous scholars of the early Middle Ages, shed a luster over the schools of Paris by his intellectual acuteness, rhetorical skill, and romantic history, which even his condemnation for heresy did not dim; and the preëminence of the University

CHIEF UNIVERSITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

of Paris lasted unimpaired to the end of the Middle Ages. Instruction everywhere was by lectures, owing to the scarcity of books. The course of study included the *Trivium* (Latin grammar, rhetoric, and logic), and the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), after which came the higher studies of theology, law, philosophy, and medicine.

The students were a disorderly, turbulent class, many of them mere boys of ten or twelve years, who lodged where they could, lived largely on alms, and being "clerks" were punishable only by their university. Latin was the universal language of learning; this made it easy to wander from country to country and to study in different universities. The student songs, in rhymed Latin, frequently breathed a most unclerical spirit.

After the days of Abelard, learning was brought entirely

into the service of the church, and "scholastic philosophy" prevailed. This may be defined as an attempt to extract knowledge from consciousness, by formal reasoning, instead of by investigation, observation, and experiment. The great authority in philosophy was Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), whose works were known, not in the original Greek, but in Latin translations of imperfect Arabic versions obtained from Spain. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was the greatest of the mediæval schoolmen, and his application of the Aristotelian logic to the problems of theology profoundly influenced all later teaching. In the mediæval universities men were trained for the service of the church, and their minds were sharpened to a hair-splitting keenness on theological subjects;[1] but the physical and historical sciences were little advanced.

71. Need of reform in the secular clergy

The reform movement which spread from Cluny as a center did not stop with the purification of the monasteries; it extended as well to the secular clergy, whose condition in the tenth and eleventh centuries was deplorable. The three great evils complained of were simony, lay investiture, and clerical marriage. (1) Simony was the purchase in any way of ecclesiastical office, the word being derived from Simon Magus, who sought to buy the gift of the Holy Ghost (see Acts, viii. 17–19). (2) Closely connected with this evil was the right exercised by Emperors and princes of "investing" newly elected bishops with the ring and staff, which were the symbols of their office, and requiring from them homage and fealty for the lands which they held. Accompanying the control thus secured were encroachments upon the freedom of

[1] The following questions were debated with great logical subtlety: "Whether an angel can be in more than one place at one and the same time; whether more angels than one can be in one and the same place at the same time; whether angels have local motion; and whether, if they have, they pass through intermediate space." (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, I., quest. 52, 53.) For examples of scholastic method, see University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, vol. III., No. 6.

election, so that the higher clergy almost everywhere became the appointees of the temporal power. Says a Catholic writer, in speaking of this period: "Kings could dispose, absolutely and without control, of all ecclesiastical dignities. . . . All was venal, from the episcopate, and sometimes even the papacy, down to the smallest rural benefice." (3) The whole clergy, with the exception only of the monks and of some bishops and priests who were quoted as marvels, openly and freely entered into the marriage relation. To free the church from these evils, and reinvigorate it, became the special mission of the Cluniac order.

Montalembert, Monks of the West, II. 309

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72. Summary

While decentralizing forces prevailed in the state, the church grew steadily in unity and in strength. The papal headship was advanced as the imperial power declined. Recurrent waves of monastic reform resulted in the formation of new orders of monks, and these produced new efforts to revive and spiritualize the church. Education began to spread among the clergy, though confined within the narrow limits of scholasticism, and famous universities arose. Gothic architecture was developed, and impressive church services were devised.

The chief problem of the church was how to secure the clergy from local and monarchical oppression. Before the eleventh century, men's minds were too much engrossed with the practical problems presented by the invasions of the Northmen and Hungarians, and the decay of civil government, to permit of much speculation on the relations of the spiritual and temporal powers. The church also had too much need of the strong arm of temporal rulers (such as Otto I.) to rescue and protect it from danger, to permit it to quarrel with its champions. By the eleventh century these dangers were past, and men's minds began to turn to questions of principles and theory. It was inevitable that the two great powers, the temporal and the spiritual, should come into conflict in their representatives, the

Empire and the Papacy. It is this conflict which constitutes the chief feature of the history of the next two centuries.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why were there just seven clerical ranks, seven sacraments, etc.? (2) Would the Pope have acquired temporal power if Rome had continued to be the residence of an Emperor? (3) Was monasticism a good or a bad thing for religion? For society? For the state? Give your reasons. (4) Why are there not so many monks to-day as there were in the Middle Ages? (5) Why does the church play a less prominent part in modern life than it did in mediæval times?

Search topics

(6) Contributions of Pope Leo I. (440–461) to the growth of the papacy. (7) Contributions of Gregory I. (590–604). (8) Contributions of Nicholas I. (858–867). (9) Life of Saint Benedict. (10) The Benedictine rule. (11) The monastery of Cluny. (12) Monastic orders for women. (13) Romanesque architecture. (14) Gothic art. (15) Music in the Middle Ages. (16) The origin of the drama. (17) Church festivals and pageants. (18) Parish priests of the Middle Ages. (19) Church councils to the close of 1215. (20) Rise of the universities. (21) The university of Paris. (22) Abelard. (23) Student life in the Middle Ages.

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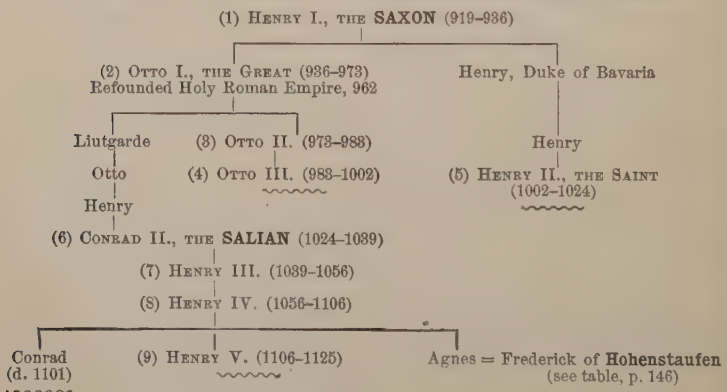
CHAPTER VI.

THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS, HILDEBRAND, AND THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT (1024–1125)

73. Reform under the Saxon Emperors

To rescue the church from the evil condition into which it had fallen, something more was needed than the zeal of Cluny; namely, the support of temporal and ecclesiastical rulers. A beginning was made in this direction under the Saxon Emperors, when Otto I., Otto II., and Otto III. protected the papacy against local Roman factions. Under Henry II. the Cluniac monks secured a hold on Germany, and the first energetic action against the married clergy was taken by a Pope in the synod of Pavia (1022). It remained, however, for the Franconian or Salian Emperors,[1] who succeeded the Saxons in 1024, to witness the triumph of the principles of celibacy and no simony, and to see the storm clouds raised by the outcry against lay investiture gather about their own heads.

[1] THE SAXON AND FRANCONIAN (OR SALIAN) KINGS OF GERMANY



Under Conrad II. (1024–1039), the first of the Franconian or Salian house, little progress was made with church reform, but a basis was laid for a closer connection with Cluny by the incorporation into the empire (in 1032) of the kingdom of Burgundy, where the reform movement was strong.

74. Conrad II. and Henry III. (1024–1056)

Under Conrad's son, Henry III. (1039–1056), the mediæval empire reached its highest point, and the work of reform was zealously taken up. When he first interfered in Roman affairs, in 1046, he found three rivals claiming to be Pope, and each in possession of a portion of the city. At a synod called near Rome, all three claimants were deposed for simony; and a German bishop of unblemished life and piety was chosen — the first of a series of German Popes. Of those who had filled the papal chair in the three preceding centuries, only four had not been born in Rome or the papal states; with these German Popes the papacy took on a more international character. The Popes now led in attacking clerical marriage and simony. Leo IX. (1048–1054) was the most vigorous of the series, traveling about from country to country, holding synods in Italy, Germany, and France — everywhere condemning the married and simoniacal clergy.

SEAL OF HENRY III.
"Heinricus Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator Augustus."

The greatest service which Leo rendered the reform movement was by bringing the monk Hildebrand to Rome as the adviser and chief officer of the papacy. Of lowly German origin, but born in Tuscany, Hildebrand received his education and training in a Roman monastery of which his uncle was abbot. Gregory VI., one of the three papal contestants in 1046, made him his chaplain, and after Gregory's fall Hildebrand followed him into Germany. For a time Hilde-

75. Rise of Hildebrand

brand was an inmate of the monastery at Cluny, where he was filled with reformatory zeal; and there Leo IX. found him and took him to Rome.

Until his own election to the papacy in 1073, as Gregory VII., Hildebrand was the real power behind the papal throne, under five different Popes, covering a period of nearly a quarter of a century. Physically he was far from imposing: he was of small stature and ungainly figure, with a feeble voice; but he possessed a mind of restless activity, uncommon penetration, and an inflexible will. The principles upon which Hildebrand wished to guide the papal policy are indicated in a memorandum found among his papers, containing the following propositions: (1) The Roman pontiff (Pope) alone may rightly be called "universal." (2) He only can depose and reinstate bishops. (3) He only can establish new laws for the church, and unite or divide dioceses. (4) No council or synod, without his approval, can be called general. (5) No earthly person may call the Pope to trial or pronounce judgment on him. (6) No one who appeals to the papacy may have sentence passed against him by any other tribunal.

Henderson, Documents, 366–367

HILDEBRAND (GREGORY VII.).
From an old print.

(7) The Roman Church has never erred, and never shall err. (8) The Roman Pontiff has the right to depose Emperors. (9) He may absolve the subjects of unjust princes from their allegiance.

In these propositions the supremacy of the Pope over the church and over temporal princes is the underlying thought, and Hildebrand's whole conduct was but the development and application of these maxims. In carrying out his policy he avoided all appearance of revolution, and gave his acts the air of a return to ancient traditions, the evidence for which was found in the False Decretals. Hefele, a famous Catholic historian, sums up Hildebrand's policy in these words: "Seeing the world sunk in wickedness and threatened with impending ruin, and believing that the Pope alone could save it, Gregory conceived the vast design of forming a universal theocracy, which should embrace every kingdom of Christendom, and of whose policy the Decalogue [Ten Commandments] should be the fundamental principle. Over this commonwealth of nations the Pope was to preside. The spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the sun to the moon, imparting light and strength, without, however, destroying it or depriving princes of their sovereignty."

Alzog, Church History, II. 489

While Henry III. lived, Hildebrand did not dare shake off the Emperor's control; but when Henry died, he left an infant of six years, Henry IV. (1056–1106), to rule under the regency of his mother. "The princes," says a chronicler, "chafed at being governed by a woman or a child; they demanded their ancient freedom; then they disputed among themselves the chief place; at last they plotted the deposition of their lord and king." With little now to fear from beyond the Alps, Hildebrand set about organizing new safeguards for papal independence. Everywhere he could count upon the reform party as favorable to his plans. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany gave him protection and resources, and finally donated to the papacy her vast estates, stretching almost to the

76. Papacy claims independence (1056–1073)

Gulf of Genoa. New treaties, also, were concluded with the Normans, by which Robert Guiscard, in return for a confirmation of his conquests, became the Pope's vassal, thus beginning a papal suzerainty over southern Italy which was to last for centuries.

TERRITORIES OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA.

Finally, in 1059, the attempt was made to emancipate the papacy from imperial control, by a decree concerning papal elections. In the early church the Pope had been chosen, like any bishop, by "the clergy and people" of his diocese; but under Charlemagne, the three Ottos, and their successors, the Emperor practically appointed to that office. The decree of 1059 changed the papal constitution, in effect, by providing that the real selection should be in the hands of the College of Cardinals — that is, the Pope's own clerical council. Direful penalties were invoked against all who disobeyed the decree, and the text was characteristic of the times. "Eternal anathema and excommunication," it read, "be upon the foolhardy person who takes no account of our decree, and attempts in his presumption to disturb and trouble the Roman Church! May he endure in this life and in the next the wrath of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that of the Apostles Peter and Paul, whose church he presumes to molest! Let his house be desolate, and no one dwell in his tents! Let his children be orphans, and his wife a widow! Let him and his sons be outcasts and beg their bread, driven away from their habitations! May the usurer consume his goods, and the stranger reap the fruit of his labors! May all the world war

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 34

against him and all the elements be hostile, and the merits of all the saints, who sleep in the Lord, confound and inflict visible vengeance in this life upon him!"

77. Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII. (1073–1085)

The time at last came when Hildebrand himself had to don the papal crown. The election was irregular and not according to the decree of 1059. The people, assembled in the church for the funeral services of the late Pope, raised the cry, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop!" One of the cardinals turned to the crowd and recalled how much, since the days of Leo IX., Hildebrand had done for the church and for Rome. On all sides the cry was then raised, "Saint Peter crowns Hildebrand as Pope!" In spite of his resistance, Hildebrand was forthwith arrayed in the scarlet robe, crowned with the papal tiara, and seated in the chair of Saint Peter. As Pope he took the name Gregory VII., in memory of his early patron.

GOSLAR, BIRTHPLACE OF HENRY IV.
Present condition.

78. Germany under Henry IV. (1056–1106)

The claims of Gregory to treat the temporal power as subordinate to the papacy made a struggle with the empire inevitable. The imperial power, at this time, was far from strong. The minority of Henry IV. was distracted by quarrels for control, in which his mother Agnes and

the archbishops of Bremen and Cologne played the chief parts. Although intelligent and high-spirited, Henry IV. was allowed to grow up with alternations of stern repression and careless indulgence; he thus arrived at manhood without training to rule, with an undisciplined temper, and with a heedlessness of moral restraint which led him into many excesses. Finally his rule was weakened by the disaffection of the Saxons, who had been the chief support of the throne under the Ottos. In 1073 the discontent ripened into revolt; and although Henry, after one humiliating defeat, put down the rebellion, there continued to exist in Germany a disaffected party with which Gregory formed alliance.

79. Investiture conflict begun (1075–1076)

In 1075 Gregory brought the question of investiture into a position of chief importance, declaring investiture by laymen, even by kings and Emperors, to be void, and causing persons giving it to be excommunicated. To a report that Henry was summoned to appear at Rome to justify his actions, the Emperor replied: "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but false monk. . . . Thou hast attacked me, who am consecrated king and who, according to the tradition of the fathers, can be judged by God alone and can be deposed for no crime save the abandonment of the faith. . . . Condemned by the judgment of our bishops, and by our own, descend! Quit the place which thou hast usurped! Let another take the seat of Saint Peter, who seeks not to cover violence with the cloak of religion, and who teaches the sound doctrine of Saint Peter!" To this Gregory replied in February, 1076, by sentence of excommunication. "Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles," he wrote, "be thou my witness that the Holy Roman Church called me against my will to govern it! . . . As thy representative I have received from God the power to bind and loose in heaven and upon earth. Full of this conviction, for the honor and defense of

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 42 (condensed)

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 44 (condensed)

thy church, . . . I deny to King Henry, who with unheard-of pride has risen against thy church, the government of Germany and of Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths of fidelity they have taken or may take to him; and I forbid that any person shall serve him as king."

The most powerful of the German princes were already opposed to Henry, and declared that unless the excommunication were removed by a certain day, he should be treated as deposed and a new king elected. His only hope was to break the alliance between the Pope and his enemies at home; and to accomplish this he set off secretly across the Alps, in the dead of winter, accompanied only by his wife, his young son, and one attendant. At Canossa he found the Pope, already on his way to Germany to arrange the government in consultation with the princes. The Pope at first refused to see him, and for three days Henry was obliged to stand as a suppliant — fasting and barefooted — without the castle gates. At last Gregory yielded to the entreaties of the Countess Matilda and admitted him to reconciliation. The excommunica-

80. Pope's triumph at Canossa (1077)

POPE GREGORY VII., HENRY IV., AND COUNTESS MATILDA AT CANOSSA.

From a 12th century MS. in the Vatican Library.

tion was raised, but only on condition that Henry should make his peace with his German subjects before a day fixed by the Pope, and on terms which he should lay down (January, 1077).

The humiliation of the Emperor at Canossa was the most brilliant victory that the papacy ever won over the temporal power; but it was merely an incident in a long struggle. Henry's German enemies were displeased that the Pope had removed the excommunication, and persisted in electing a new king. Civil war followed, and as Henry continued to grant lay investiture, the Pope renewed his excommunication. A strong party now rallied to Henry's support, and he caused an assembly of German and Italian bishops to declare Gregory deposed and set up an anti-pope. In 1081 Henry mastered his German enemies sufficiently to come to Italy with an army. After three years' campaigning all Rome, save the strong fortress of St. Angelo, was in his hands: his anti-pope was enthroned, and Henry himself was crowned with the imperial crown.

81. Renewed conflict over investiture (1077-1081)

The dauntless Gregory meanwhile had sent for aid to the Norman Robert Guiscard. Henry hastily quitted Rome, which was taken and sacked by the Normans; but when these retired, the Pope was forced to accompany them into southern Italy. There in May, 1085, Gregory VII. died; in his last hours he said, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile." He had done much to clear the church of the scandals which clung to it, and he had raised the papal power to a higher pitch than ever before; but he had embroiled the papacy not only with the empire, but with most of the kings of Europe. Had his ideas triumphed, Europe would have been left practically under the sovereignty of the papacy, distant and disassociated from royal families or national feeling — a single monarchical rule supported by all the terrors of religious authority.

82. Death of Gregory VII. (1085) and of Henry IV. (1106)

After two years, a worthy successor to Gregory came to the papal throne, in the person of Urban II., a zealous reformer of French birth. The struggle between papacy and empire continued as fiercely as ever in his pontificate, in spite of the call for the First Crusade which Urban issued in 1095 (see § 93). The Emperor's oldest son, Conrad, was stirred up to rebel against his father; and after Conrad's death another son, Henry, was induced to revolt, and was recognized as king by the Pope. This time the old Emperor's enemies were completely successful: he was imprisoned, was forced to abdicate, escaped, and sought to renew the struggle; but died in August, 1106, in the midst of his efforts.

Henry IV. made many mistakes and committed many faults, but these were in large part the results of his unfortunate training. His cause was not wholly just, but he was fighting against ecclesiastical absolutism and feudal anarchy. The lower classes of the people, particularly the townsmen of the Rhine valley, mourned him, for he was to them a generous and devoted master. Perhaps the hatred which the nobility bore him was due to this fact, for they fought as much for their own interests as for the cause of religion and papal power.

The Emperor's undutiful son, Henry V., when once on the throne, proved as stanch an upholder of the imperial claims as his father. The trouble about investiture grew out of the fact that the bishops and archbishops, especially in Germany, were not merely officers of the church, but by virtue of the lands attached to their offices they were great feudal princes as well, exercising high influence in the state. It was just as impossible for the Emperor to give up all means of keeping out undesirable men from those positions, as it was for the Pope to permit him, by "investing" bishops, to give the sanction for their religious functions. There was room for a real compromise, and negotiations at last were begun with that purpose.

83. Settlement of the investiture question (1106–1122)

At first the Pope (Paschal II.) consented that the great clergy of Germany should surrender their fiefs and political influence, and become merely church officers; but to this the clergy would by no means agree. Finally, in 1122, an agreement was embodied in what is called, from the city where it was concluded, the Concordat of Worms. The Emperor gave up "all investiture by the ring and the staff," and promised that there should be "freedom of election and of consecration"; in return, the Pope (now Honorius II.) granted that the election of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or of his representative (so that objection might be made to persons unsatisfactory to him); and that the person so elected should receive from the Emperor "the property and the immunities of his office," and duly fulfill the obligations, such as homage, arising therefrom.

In this settlement the papacy gained the abolition of lay investiture, and so secured greater freedom for the church; but some solid advantages remained to the empire, and the compromise was one which Gregory VII. would have been loath to approve. It gave, indeed, only a breathing spell in the struggle between the world-church and the world-state, and new occasions for controversy were not slow to arise; for the two ideas were mutually exclusive. In the world-empire of Charlemagne or Otto I. there was no room for an independent church; in the world-papacy of Hildebrand there was no room for an independent empire or kingdom. The conflict had to continue until one or the other, or both, were destroyed.

The beginning of Hildebrand's influence in the papacy coincides with the ending of the last connection between the churches of the East and of the West. The separation of the Roman Empire, in the fourth century, into an eastern and a western half, paved the way for a similar "schism" in

the church. As the two halves of the empire drifted apart, the churches also drifted away from each other. Latin remained the language of the West, while Greek became the official tongue of the East. In the eighth century broke out a strife about the use of images (the Iconoclastic Controversy), which the Latin Church favored, and the Greek Church, for a time, opposed (§ 13). At the close of the same century, the West formally accepted an addition made — without due authority, it seemed to the East — in the Nicene creed (adopted 325 A.D.) so that it read, "I believe . . . in the Holy Ghost . . . which proceedeth from the Father *and the Son* (*filioque*) . . ." The insertion of the word *filioque* in this passage on the "procession of the Holy Ghost" (as it was called) was one of the hardest things for the West to justify to their Eastern brethren. Other differences concerned the cut of the tonsure and the bread used in celebrating the Eucharist — the East maintaining the use of leavened bread, and the West of unleavened.

84. Final separation of Greek and Latin churches (1054)

Above all, there was the supremacy claimed by the papacy over the whole church, which the East would not admit. In the ninth century, the attempt of Pope Nicholas I. to interfere as of right in the Eastern Church and settle a dispute over the office of Patriarch of Constantinople, brought the two churches into open conflict. Finally, in the year 1054, — at the very time when the papacy was gathering its strength for its great conflict with the empire, and the shadow of the Turkish peril was coming upon the East, — the heads of the two churches mutually excommunicated each other, and Christians of the East and of the West were thenceforth mortal enemies. Many efforts were made to heal the schism, but in vain: the differences as to ceremonies and the creed might have been patched up; but there remained the fatal obstacle of the dispute over the papal headship.

85. Summary

The middle of the eleventh century saw the papacy feeble and the empire all-powerful; the middle of the twelfth found the papacy in the most brilliant period of its history, while the empire was sunk in decline. This was the result of the policy so unflinchingly pursued by Gregory VII. (1073–1085). With Leo I. (440–461), Gregory I. (590–604), and Nicholas I. (858–867), he is to be reckoned one of the founders of the papal power. In place of control of the church by the temporal authorities, which had existed in the days of Constantine, of Charlemagne, and of Otto the Great, Gregory put forward the claim of the spiritual power to control the temporal. A partial success was won at Canossa, and a compromise was arranged in the Concordat of Worms; but the struggle was not ended. Among the results of Gregory's policy should be noted the seeds of that fear and hatred felt by the German people for the Roman court down to the Reformation; and the alienation of the Emperor from the church, and of the Eastern and Western churches from each other, at the most important moment of all — the beginning of the period of the Crusades.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Hildebrand more of a theologian or an ecclesiastical statesman? (2) To what extent did desire for power influence him? (3) Was his policy a good one for the world? (4) Make a list of the forces supporting Gregory VII. and those supporting Henry IV. (5) Why did the Saxons revolt against Henry IV.? (6) Was the interview at Canossa a victory for the Pope or for the Emperor? (7) Why was the settlement agreed to by Paschal II. rejected? (8) Why are conflicts between church and state less frequent to-day than in the Middle Ages?

Search topics

(9) The empire under Henry III. (10) The College of Cardinals. (11) Character and aims of Hildebrand. (12) Character and aims of Henry IV. (13) The Saxon revolt. (14) Henry IV. at Canossa. (15) Countess Matilda and the addition of her territory to the Papal States. (16) Excommunication as a papal weapon. (17) Present extent and organization of the Greek Church.

(18) The Nicene creed in the West. (19) Celebrated concordats. (20) Routes across the Alps used by Emperors.

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
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Canterbury
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DENMARK
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Rhine R.
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HOLLAND
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St. Denis
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BOUILLON
Mainz
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KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Blois
Loire R.
Danube R.
Ratisbon
AUSTRIA
AQUITAINE
Clermont
Vezelay
BURGUNDY
ROMAN EMPIRE
Rhone R.
Milan
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Venice
ADRIATIC
Genoa
Pisa
Toulouse
Avignon
Marseilles
KINGDOM OF LEON
COUNTY OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
COUNTY OF BARCELONA
Toledo
Lisbon
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Philip
Richard
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
Valencia
Cordova
Granada
Seville
Strait of Gibraltar
Richard's Fleet
Philip's Fleet
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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THE FIRST CRUSADE (1097)
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ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA
AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE
Constantinople
Trebizond
EASTERN EMPIRE
SELJUKIAN DOMINIONS
SULTANATE OF ROUM
ASIA MINOR
Armenians
Edessa
CONQUESTS OF CRUSADERS
Antioch
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
CYPRUS
Tripoli
Jerusalem
ARABIA
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Red Sea
Novgorod
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
Kief
Dnieper R.
LAND OF THE PETCHENEGS
Volga R.
CASPIAN SEA
HUNGARY
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
EMPIRE
Godfrey of Bouillon
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
GEORGIA
Trebizond
MACEDONIA
Nicea
LANDS OF THE SELJUKIAN TURKS
ARMENIA
Manzikert
SULTANATE OF ROUM
ASIA MINOR
Edessa
Mosul
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
Athens
Seleucia
Antioch
RHODES
CYPRUS
CRETE
Tripoli
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Damascus
Acre
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Richard
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CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN EAST, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE (1096–1099)

86. Byzantine Empire (717–1096)

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Byzantine or Greek Empire seemed brought to the verge of ruin through attacks by Slavs, Bulgarians, and Arabs. When, however, Italy, Egypt, and Africa were lost, the remainder proved easier to defend and to govern, so that under the Isaurian Emperors (717–802) an improvement began, and under the Macedonian line (867–1057) came a period of conquest and military glory, lasting from the middle of the tenth to the first quarter of the eleventh century. Crete, Cyprus, northern Syria and Antioch, and even Bulgaria, were for a time recovered. Following the death of the last of the Macedonian rulers came a period of anarchy lasting for a quarter of a century. Then the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) brought in a new period under a new dynasty, when the empire — more Greek and less cosmopolitan, its territory decreased and its civilization stereotyped — stood upon the defensive. But for two hundred years it nevertheless offered a brave and constant resistance to Mohammedan attacks.

Among the causes of weakness in the Byzantine Empire were the endless disputes on theological questions carried on by idle monks, and the riots of the fanatical populace to which these frequently led. Another cause of weakness was the lack of a regular succession to the imperial power: out of one hundred and seven persons who ruled as Emperors or associates, from the time of the separation of the Eastern Empire to its

fall (395–1453), only thirty-four died a natural death in office; the remainder were assassinated, were mutilated, died in prison or convent, or abdicated the throne.

The prosperity of the empire was nevertheless real and substantial. The coinage was sound, taxation just, manufactures flourishing, and trade widespread. The old legislative power of the Senate was suppressed, and the last barriers to the autocracy of the Emperor removed; but the administration was well devised, and not oppressive. By its orphan asylums, hospitals, and like institutions, the Byzantine Empire anticipated much that we regard as modern. Learning of an encyclopedic sort flourished; and there, up to the eleventh century, the only truly original Christian art was to be found. Diplomacy, with its deceits and intrigues, was developed to a high degree before it was taken up by the Venetians and introduced into the Western world. The language of the laws and the law courts was now Greek, and Latin ceased to be of practical use.

87. Its prosperity

War was studied as an art, while in the West it remained a mere matter of hard fighting. Native recruits largely replaced the Slavic, Teutonic, and Asiatic mercenaries of Justinian's day; but the famous "Varangian" bodyguard of the Emperors, composed of Danes and English, was cherished because of its loyalty and bravery. From the eighth to the twelfth century only the Byzantines possessed the secret of the "Greek fire" (composed of saltpeter, sulphur, charcoal, and bitumen) whose fierce flames, black smoke, and loud explosions destroyed hostile fleets and carried terror to the hearts of their enemies.

To impress the common people an elaborate ceremonial was devised, regulating every act of the Emperor; and to impress foreign envoys golden lions roared and lashed their tails at the foot of the throne, while golden birds sang in a golden tree near by. But despite such follies, it is not too much to say

that "in the history of mediæval civilization before the eleventh century, Byzantium [Constantinople] played a rôle analogous to that of Athens and Rome in antiquity, or Paris in modern times; its influence extended over the whole world; she was preëminently 'the city.'"

Munro and Sellery, Medieval Civilization, 223

88. The Mohammedan world (732–1096)

Meantime, a new power made its appearance in the world, that of the Mohammedan Arabs, whose achievements almost justify the remark that "from the eighth to the twelfth century the ancient world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium, and that of the Arabs." Mohammedan civilization displayed much the greater expansive force, spreading over large parts of Asia, northern Africa, and southwestern Europe; "from the river Indus to the Pillars of Hercules the same religion was professed, the same tongue spoken, the same laws obeyed." Its four chief centers were Damascus, in Syria; Bagdad, on the river Tigris (founded about 760); Cairo, on the lower Nile (founded about 970); and Cordova, in Spain. Greek, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Spanish, and Hindu elements entered into this civilization along with the Arabic: but the Arabic was the chief element, for the Arabian genius combined all into one living creation bearing the stamp of its own nature.

DAMASCUS: FOUNTAIN OF ABLUTION IN THE GRAND MOSQUE.
Present condition.

In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, science, and art

the Mohammedan world compared favorably with Christian Europe. Agriculture was not despised, as it was among the feudal nobles of Europe; and rich Mohammedans reveled in gardens of roses, jasmines, and camellias. Irrigation was extensively practiced, and grafting became a science. Among new plants introduced into Europe by the Arabs were rice, sugar cane, hemp, artichokes, asparagus, the mulberry, orange, lemon, and apricot.

In manufactures Mohammedans excelled: the sword blades of Toledo and Damascus make were world-renowned; and equal skill was shown in the manufacture of coats of mail at once supple and strong; of vases, lamps, and like articles in copper, bronze, and silver; of carpets and rugs which are still unexcelled; and of vessels of fine glass and pottery. Sugars, syrups, sweetmeats, essences, and perfumes were of Mohammedan production; paper came to Europe through the Mohammedans; and Cordova was long famous for its manufactures of skins and fine leather.

Old Arabian Money.

Commerce was widely followed, and no one looked down upon this occupation, to which Mohammed had been bred. In each city was a "bazaar," or merchants' quarter. The Arab sailor ruled the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Caspian Sea. Caravans threaded their way, from oasis to oasis, to the heart of Africa, and across the wilds of Asia to China and to India. The compass, first discovered by the Chinese, was known to the Arabs long before its introduction into Europe.

In literature (especially poetry) and in science the Arabs attained a high degree of development. The University of Cairo at one time had 12,000 students; in Spain, in the tenth

century, a library of 400,000 manuscript volumes (each probably a mere part of a complete work) is said to have been gathered. The Arabian philosophers were well versed in the writings of Aristotle and the Neoplatonists of Alexandria, whose works they read in Arabic translations. In mathematics, Mohammedan scholars led the world: trigonometry was much improved, and algebra was practically their creation, though its elements were derived from the Greeks and Hindus. The introduction of the "Arabic" system of notation, in place of the clumsy Roman numerals, is ascribed to them; and the use of the cipher, placed to the right of the digit to give "value of position," seems clearly to have been their invention. In optics and astronomy the Arabs made considerable advance. In chemistry many of our common terms, such as "elixir," "alcohol," "alkali," are of Arabic derivation and record our indebtedness to Arabic researches. In medicine the Arabs were skilled practitioners, far in advance of Christian Europe; and they seem even to have known something of anæsthetics. Pharmacy was practically created by them, and many of their preparations are still in use.

89. Arabian literature and science

In the eleventh century the religious and political unity of the Mohammedan world was broken, and the real power had passed from the hands of the Arabs into those of their mercenary soldiers, the Seljukian Turks, so-called from the chief, Seljuk, who first united them into one people. They were of Asiatic stock, like the Huns, Magyars, and Bulgarians, but unlike the Magyars and Bulgarians, they embraced Mohammedanism instead of Christianity. The whole of Asia at this time seemed about to pass into Turkish hands: in northern China was established the Manchurian kingdom, from which come the present rulers of China (1004); in Afghanistan and India, in the same year, a great Turkish state was erected; in the middle of the century (1058) the leader of the Seljukian Turks occupied Bagdad, and became

90. The Seljukian Turks (1058–1076)

the champion of the orthodox caliph, with the title "Sultan of the East and West"; in 1076 the Turks captured the holy city of Jerusalem. After 1058 the caliph was merely the religious head of the Mohammedan state, and Turkish princes — of whom, at the end of the century, there were a number, rival and independent — were the veritable sovereigns. The military prowess of the Turks spread Mohammedanism over new areas; but they cared little for Arabian civilization, and brought a new element into the strife of East and West.

That strife was suddenly intensified by the breaking out of the great movement known as the Crusades, for which there were several causes. (1) Throughout the Middle Ages the terror of the hereafter weighed with more awful force upon mankind than it does to-day: in exceptional occurrences a supernatural agency was generally seen, and the writings of the times are full of encounters with devils and demons. With this temper of mind went a belief in the power of penitential acts to avert divine wrath, and in the miracle-working virtue of relics of the saints, especially objects connected with the life and death of Christ; hence, after the fourth century, pilgrimages to the holy places of Palestine were common. In the year 1064 seven thousand pilgrims, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Mainz, went in a single company. This outburst of zeal for pilgrimages, it is to be noted, came just at a time when the tolerant rule of the Arabs in the East was replaced by the bigotry and fierce contempt of the Turks; it was a chief cause of the Crusades.

91. Causes of the Crusades

PILGRIM.
From a 13th century MS.

(2) The time, too, had now come when the peoples of western Europe might look about for wider fields of adventure. The Hungarian and Viking raids were over. Europe was settling

down to comparative peace and quiet under its feudal governments; the modern nations, with their problems, had not yet arisen; commerce and city life were still in their infancy. Thus there was no sufficient outlet at home for the spirit of adventure, which in the Middle Ages always ran high.

(3) The East was regarded as a land of fabulous riches, where not only fame but fortune might be won. The hope of gain — of winning lands and principalities — was a powerful factor in the minds of many, and must be reckoned among the causes of the Crusades. In this respect the movement may be looked upon as merely a part of the movement of expansion which caused the Norman conquests of southern Italy and England, and the German advance eastward beyond the Elbe.

The chief object of the Crusades was the rescue of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels; but the first call grew out of the danger which threatened the Eastern Empire. In 1071, at Manzikert in Armenia, the Turks defeated the forces of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the emperor (Romanus IV.) was taken prisoner. Almost the whole of Asia Minor passed into Turkish hands; and one of their chieftains, establishing himself at Nicæa, almost within sight of Constantinople, took the title "Sultan of Roum" — that is, of Rome. Several years passed before an Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, found himself free to give Asia his attention; then he sent an embassy to the Pope, as the head of Latin Christendom, in an effort to enlist western knights for the Turkish war: the result was the call to the First Crusade.

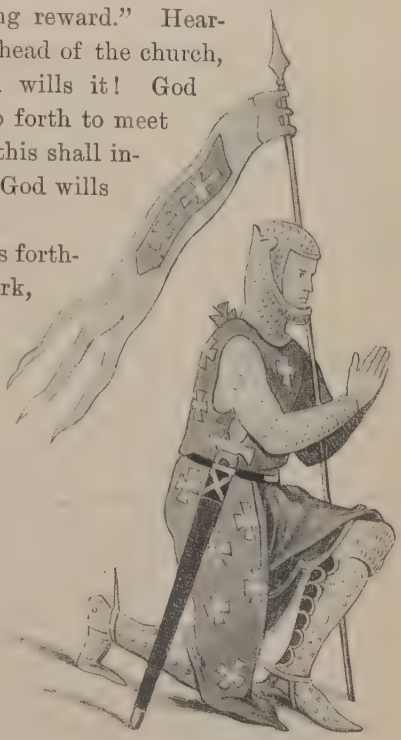
92. Advance of the Turks (1071–1092)

At Clermont, in France, Pope Urban II. held a council in November, 1095, to consider investiture and to punish the French king, Philip I., for divorcing his wife. When this business was finished the Pope, with burning eloquence, addressed an open-air assembly of thousands of French prelates and nobles in their own tongue; and is reported to have spoken thus: "Christ himself will be your

93. Council of Clermont (1095)

leader when you fight for Jerusalem. Let not love of any earthly possession detain you. You dwell in a land narrow and unfertile. Your numbers overflow, and hence you devour one another in wars. Let these home discords cease. Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth, and return home victorious, or purpled with your own blood receive an everlasting reward." Hearing these words from the head of the church, the people cried: "God wills it! God wills it!" "When you go forth to meet the enemy," said Urban, "this shall indeed be your watchword, 'God wills it!'"

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 30–31



CRUSADER.
From a 13th century MS.

Many pledged themselves forthwith to undertake the work, and to these a cross of red cloth — the sign of pilgrims to the Holy Land — was given, to be worn on the breast going and on the back returning. The crusader (from *crux*, a cross) was thus given the protection attaching to pilgrims; during his absence no one might trouble him for debt, and whoever took his goods was excommunicated. On their part the crusaders were considered to have taken a vow to fight the infidels, and not to return until they had beheld the Holy Sepulcher.

August 15, 1096, was fixed as the date for departure, but impatient zeal was aroused during the winter by popular preachers, of whom the most noted was Peter the Hermit, to whom for centuries was wrongly ascribed the original idea of the crusade. In the spring, bands of peasants and townsmen, for many of whom any change was a gain, began to assemble; they were without arms or provisions, and were incumbered with women and children. At Cologne and elsewhere the Jews were massacred in a frenzy of religious zeal. Under the leadership of a knight called Walter the Penniless, of Peter the Hermit, and others, several successive companies took the road down the valley of the Danube, which since the conversion of the Hungarians was the ordinary pilgrim route. Without adequate leadership or preparations, the misguided multitudes perished miserably on the way, or left their bones to whiten the plains of Asia Minor. Walter and most of his followers were slaughtered by the Sultan of Roum, but Peter escaped to await the coming of the main crusade.

94. The crusade of the people (1096)

In the summer and fall of 1096 the lords and knights set out, armed with coats of mail, swords, and lances; they were provided with sums of money, often obtained by the sale of their belongings at ruinous prices; and they were accompanied by attendants on foot and by carts laden with provisions. The Pope had been asked to lead the crusade in person; he declined the perilous office, but commissioned a bishop as his legate. There was no general leadership; each crusader went at his own cost, and obeyed only his own will. The crusaders naturally grouped themselves about the better known nobles, such as Raymond, count of Toulouse; Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard; Godfrey of Bouillon; and Robert of Normandy, brother of the English king William II.

95. The crusade of knights (1096-1097)

The crusaders assembled at different places, and departed as they were ready, in four different companies. The Germans and those from the north of France followed the valley of

the Danube; others traversed Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and proceeded thence by land to Constantinople. "How great a city it is; how noble and comely!" wrote one of their number, of that capital. "What wondrously wrought monasteries and palaces are therein! What marvels everywhere in street and square! Tedious would it be to recite its wealth in all precious things, in gold and silver, in divers shaped cloaks, and saintly relics. For thither do ships bring at all times all things that man requires."

96. Crusaders at Constantinople

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 50

The Emperor Alexius had expected a few thousand men in response to his call, where scores of thousands came. Mutual hatreds quickly sprang up, and the Emperor was glad, in the spring of 1097, to speed the "Franks," as the crusaders were called, out of the city and across into Asia Minor. After several weeks' siege, Nicæa surrendered; but it passed, not to the crusaders, but to the Greeks. Suffering from thirst and attacked by the Turks, the crusaders made their way through Asia Minor, with the loss of most of their horses. To add to the difficulties of their situation, quarrels arose between rival leaders. In front of Antioch, which they reached in October, 1097, they were checked for more than a year, by its strong walls and their lack of skill in the construction and operation of siege engines.

CAPTURE OF NICÆA (1097).
From a church window in the abbey of St. Denis, as pictured in a 12th century MS.

The events of this period, and the sentiments of the crusaders, are indicated in the following letter, which Stephen of Blois, a powerful French noble, brother-in-law of the English king, wrote from before Antioch in March, 1098: —

97. Letter of a crusader (1098)

"Count Stephen to Adele, his sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks, — his greeting and blessing: —

"You may be very sure, dearest, that the messenger whom I sent left me before Antioch safe and unharmed, and through God's grace in the greatest prosperity. Already at that time we had been continuously advancing for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus. You may know for certain, my beloved, that of gold, silver, and many other kinds of riches I now have twice as much as your love had assigned to me when I left you.

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, I. No. 4 (condensed)

"You have certainly heard that, after the capture of the city of Nicæa, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid conquered them. Next we conquered for the Lord all Romania [*i.e.* the sultanate of Roum], and afterwards Cappadocia. Thence, continually following the wicked Turks, we drove them through Armenia, as far as the great river Euphrates. Having left all their baggage and beasts of burden on the bank, they fled across the river into Arabia.

"The bolder of the Turkish soldiers, indeed, entering Syria, hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks; and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid, we fought with the fiercest courage, under the leadership of Christ. And in all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered

and most assuredly killed an innumerable host of them. In those battles, indeed, and in very many attacks made upon the city, many of our brethren and followers were killed, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

"In fighting against these enemies of God, and our own, we have by God's grace endured many sufferings and innumerable evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Very many of our Franks, indeed, would have met a temporal death from starvation, if the clemency of God, and our money, had not succored them. Before the above mentioned city of Antioch, indeed, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very similar to our winter in the West.

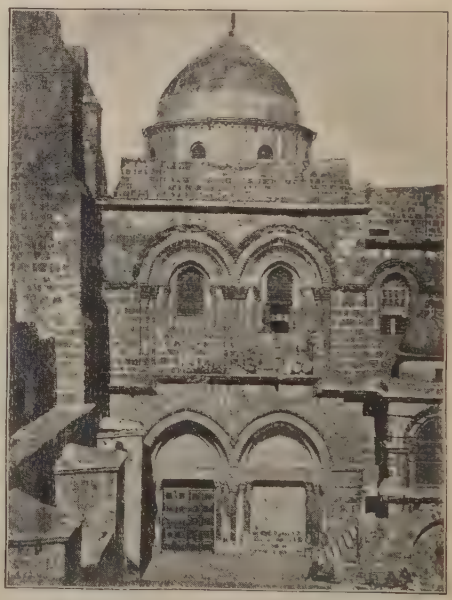
"When the emir of Antioch — that is, prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes. These five emirs, with twelve thousand picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, indeed, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses. For there are one hundred and sixty-five cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with seven hundred soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful, against them. For on that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we also carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right,

to carefully watch over your land, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. You will certainly see me just as soon as I can possibly return to you. Farewell."

Antioch fell in June, 1098, betrayed to the crusaders by one of its inhabitants. Three days later an immense army sent by the Seljukian sultan arrived for its relief, and the crusaders themselves were forced to stand siege. Through the aid of a vision thrice repeated, the Holy Lance, which pierced the side of Christ, was discovered buried in the soil: many disbelieved, but others were fired to prodigies of valor by the sacred relic. The Turks were beaten off, and the crusaders proceeded southward along the coast.

98. Capture of Jerusalem (1099)



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.
Present condition.

Owing to quarrels and delays on the road, it was June, 1099, before they came in sight of Jerusalem. A few months before, the caliph of Egypt had wrested the city from the Turks; and he now offered free access to the Holy Sepulcher for unarmed pilgrims in small numbers. These terms were refused. After several weeks, the city was taken by assault (July 15, 1099). Then followed scenes which showed how little the teachings of Christ had sunk into the crusaders' hearts. "When our

men had taken the city, with its walls and towers," says an eyewitness, "there were things wondrous to be seen. For some of the enemy (and this is a small matter) were reft of their heads, while others, riddled through with arrows, were forced to leap down from the towers; others, after long torture, were burned in the flames. In all the streets and squares there were to be seen piles of heads, and hands, and feet; and along the public ways foot and horse alike made passage over the bodies of the dead."

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 91

The vow of the crusaders was fulfilled: but at what a cost of lives, both Christian and Mohammedan; of agonies of battle and sufferings on the way; of women made widows, and children left fatherless!

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99. Summary

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Eastern Empire was prosperous and highly civilized. The Mohammedan world, under Arabian rule, was cultured and tolerant. The rise of the Seljukian Turks (1058) changed political and religious conditions, for Mohammedanism became intolerant and aggressive. The Eastern Empire soon lost most of its Asiatic possessions. To resist the Turks, Alexius Comnenus sought to enlist mercenary soldiers in the West, which was now in a condition to undertake distant enterprises. Religious zeal, the spirit of adventure, and greed for booty enabled Pope Urban II. to convert the aid sent to Alexius into the First Crusade. The impractical character of the times showed itself in the popular movement under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless (1096). The crusade of the knights was better managed, and resulted in the capture of Jerusalem (1099). But cruelty, jealousy, and self-seeking were as marked traits of the leaders as was devotion to religious ideals. In spite of flashes of lofty idealism, the crusader in Palestine was little different from the rude, superstitious, selfish baron at home.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Which was the more exposed to barbarian attack, the East or the West? (2) What advantages were possessed in the Middle Ages by a settled hereditary succession over a line of elective rulers? Why are there not the same advantages to-day? (3) Compare the coming of the Turks into the East with that of the Germans into the West. (4) Were the causes of the Crusades more in external events or in the prevalence of a particular state of mind? (5) What motive besides the religious one led Stephen of Blois to the Crusade? (6) Why do men not go on crusades to-day? (7) Why did the crusaders slay the Mohammedans at Jerusalem?

Search topics

(8) Life in Constantinople on the eve of the Crusades. (9) The debt of civilization to the Saracens. (10) The Mohammedan heretical sect of the Shiites. (11) The First Crusade as seen by a participant. (12) Peter the Hermit in myth and in history. (13) Relations of the crusaders with the Eastern Emperor. (14) Bagdad in the *Arabian Nights*. (15) Works of art in Constantinople. (16) Arabian merchants in the Far East.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE LATER CRUSADES (1099–1291)

After the successful termination of the First Crusade, the next task was to organize and safeguard the Christian conquests. Jerusalem was made an independent kingdom, and the rest was organized into three auxiliary states — the principality of Antioch, and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli. Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen to rule at Jerusalem; and he took the title "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher" instead of king, being unwilling, it is said, "to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns." Most of the crusaders departed as soon as their vows were fulfilled; but others came to take their places, and gradually the power of the "Franks" was fixed in the regions about the four capital cities. The peasants — who were already, for the most part, Christians of vari-

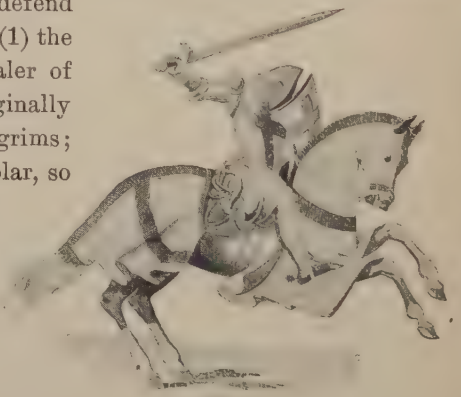
100. Organization of conquests in Asia

CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

ous Eastern faiths—kept their lands, paying tribute to their Latin masters, as they had formerly done to the Mohammedans. Above them were placed crusading lords, who held their lands as fiefs, and whose castles helped to keep the land in obedience. Feudalism was transplanted full-grown into Palestine, and in the course of the twelfth century the feudal usages were drawn up into a code called the "Assizes of Jerusalem." The lords were almost all French, and French became the language of the Latin East; but Italian merchants came in large numbers (from Venice, Genoa, and Pisa especially) to profit by the new facilities for trade.

Besides the constant reënforcements from the West, the Franks depended on three orders of knighthood which sprang up especially to defend the Holy Land: (1) the Knights Hospitaler of St. John, formed originally to care for sick pilgrims; (2) the Knights Templar, so called from their headquarters in the inclosure of the ancient temple of Jerusalem; and (3) the Order of Teutonic Knights, which was composed of Germans, whereas the members of the others were mostly French. The Hospitalers wore a white cross on a black mantle, the Templars a red one on white, and the Teutonic Knights a black cross on a white ground. The members of these orders were monks, vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience, and living under a rule; but they were also knights, of noble birth, trained to arms, and

101. The military orders



KNIGHT TEMPLAR.
From a 13th century MS.

bound to perpetual warfare against the infidel. They constituted a permanent force of military monks, resident in the Holy Land, with their own grand masters, fortresses, domains, and treasuries. In course of time they acquired immense possessions in Europe also. After the end of the crusading epoch, the Templars were forcibly dissolved and their goods confiscated; the Teutonic Knights transferred themselves to the shores of the Baltic Sea, and there continued to wage war against the heathen; and the Knights Hospitaler, taking refuge in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and finally in Malta, preserved an independent existence until the close of the eighteenth century.

The Crusades continued throughout the twelfth and the greater part of the thirteenth century. It is customary to describe them as "First," "Second," and so on; but this usage obscures the fact that the warfare was almost continuous, and that there was a constant movement of crusaders to and from the Holy Land. At times some exceptional occurrence produced an increase of zeal, and it is to the exceptional expeditions that the conventional numbers apply, though other movements of almost equal importance must be passed by without notice.

102. The Second Crusade (1147–1149)

The so-called Second Crusade took place a half century after the first. It was caused by the consolidation of the petty Mohammedan states of Syria under one powerful ruler, the Atabek (viceroy) of Mosul. The Latin states were weakened by quarrels of the Templars with the Hospitalers, of the French with other nationalities, of the Genoese with the Pisans and Venetians, and of newcomers from the West with the older settlers, whom they accused of too great favor toward the infidels. These divisions made it easy for the atabek, in 1144, to conquer Edessa and massacre its garrison; and news of this disaster caused Saint Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, to make himself the preacher of another crusade. Bernard was a man of rare ability,

education, and devotion, and was the most important figure of the twelfth century; in some respects he is the most typical man of the Middle Ages. His influence induced two sovereigns, Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany, to take the cross and lead the crusading forces.

The route of the Second Crusade was the old one, down the Danube valley and across Bulgaria to Constantinople. Most of the Germans, under Conrad III., perished in Asia Minor, through the attacks of the Turks and the hardships of the way. Of the army under Louis VII., those without money to pay for their passage aboard ship continued by land and were almost all destroyed. Only a few troops of the two great armies which set out from Europe reached Palestine. The whole expedition was a lamentable failure — a result ascribed by some to their sins, by others to treachery of the Greeks, but really due to the miserable mismanagement of the leaders.

The power of the atabeks of Mosul grew to yet greater heights. The emir of Damascus was conquered; then Egypt was taken, and the caliphate there was suppressed (1171) by the famous Saladin (Salah-ed-Din), nephew of the reigning atabek, who secured all of his uncle's dominions, and took the title of sultan. The Christians in Syria now found themselves exposed to attacks from one who was wise in counsel, brave in battle, and as chivalrous in conduct and sincere in his faith as the best of his Christian foes. In July, 1187, Saladin won a great victory over the Franks, taking captive the king of Jerusalem and the grand master of the Templars. "So great is the multitude of the Saracens and Turks," wrote a Hospitaler, appealing to Europe for aid, "that from Tyre, which they are besieging, they cover the face of the earth as far as Jerusalem, like an innumerable army of ants." In October Jerusalem itself fell, and the Latin states were reduced to a few strongly fortified towns near the coast.

103. Saladin, and the fall of Jerusalem (1187)

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, I. No. 4

The loss of Jerusalem caused another great outburst of crusading zeal in Europe. Public fasts and prayers were enjoined in the Western Church, and the fullest privileges and spiritual benefits were promised those who should go to the relief of the Holy Land. The three greatest kings of western Europe — Richard I. the Lion-Hearted (Cœur de Lion), of England; Philip II., surnamed Augustus, of France; and Frederick I. of Germany, called Barbarossa (Redbeard) — took the cross, and assumed the lead of the Third Crusade. The Emperor Frederick, who had gone in his youth on the Second Crusade, was the first to start on the Third. Thorough organization and strict discipline enabled Frederick to lead his army by the Danube route without the customary losses; but while crossing a mountain torrent in Asia Minor the old Emperor was drowned (June, 1190), and thereupon the German expedition went to pieces.

104. Third Crusade organized (1189–1190)

The preparations of Richard and Philip were delayed by their mutual hostilities, and it was not until after the death of Frederick that they actually started, both expeditions going by water. The measures taken against lawlessness and violence are shown by the following regulations, drawn up by Richard for the English fleet: "Whoever on board ship shall slay another is himself to be cast into the sea lashed to the dead man; if he have slain him ashore, he is to be buried in the same way. . . . Let a convicted thief be shorn like a prize fighter; after which let boiling pitch be poured on his head and a feather pillow be shaken over it so as to make him a laughing stock. Then let him be put ashore at the first land where the ships touch."

Archer, Crusade of Richard I., 9–10

At Messina, in Sicily, the two expeditions met and spent the winter. For the combined armies these regulations were issued: "Let no one in the whole army play at any game for a stake — saving only knights and clerks, who, however, are not to lose more than twenty *solidi* [*solidus* = a

Archer, Crusade of Richard I., 37–39

silver coin] in the twenty-four hours. . . . The kings, however, may play at their good pleasure. . . . If, after starting on the journey, any pilgrim has borrowed from another man, he shall pay the debt; but so long as he is on the pilgrimage he shall not be liable for a debt contracted before starting. . . . No merchant of any kind may buy bread or flour in the army to sell it again. . . . Merchants, no matter of what calling, shall only make a profit of one penny in ten."

105. Third Crusade carried out (1191–1192)

In Sicily the two kings wrangled; and Richard, following up a quarrel with the Sicilian ruler, took Messina and sacked it. Philip at last departed without Richard, and reached Acre in Syria in April, 1191. The English, following later, again turned aside — this time to conquer Cyprus, whose king had permitted the plunder of pilgrim vessels on his coast.

PRESENT VIEW OF ACRE.

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 323

In June, Richard joined Philip before Acre, the siege of which had already dragged on for more than twenty months. "The Lord is not in the camp," wrote one of the besiegers before this date; "there is none that doeth good. The leaders strive with one another, while the lesser folk starve and have none to help. The Turks are persistent in

attack, while our knights skulk within their tents." The arrival of Richard infused new energy into the operations. He was an undutiful son, an oppressive king, and (in spite of his superficial chivalry and courtesy) a violent and cruel man; but he was a warrior of splendid strength and skill, and one of the best military engineers of the Middle Ages. In July, Acre capitulated; when the ransom agreed upon was not forthcoming, Richard massacred 2000 hostages left in his hands.

After the fall of Acre, Philip returned to France, taking an oath not to attack Richard's territories in his absence — an oath which he straightway broke. In the subsequent operations in Syria, motives of selfish interest were more prominent than in the First Crusade. In January, 1192, Richard advanced almost to within sight of Jerusalem, but was forced to retreat. Finally, news came from England that his brother John had rebelled against him, in alliance with Philip of France.

Recalled by this news, Richard set out in October for home. He landed at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and sought to make his way in disguise through Germany; but was recognized, and was thrown into prison by the duke of Austria, whom he had grievously offended on the crusade. He had made an enemy of the Emperor also by allying himself with German rebels; so he obtained his liberty only after two years of captivity, and on the payment of a ruinous ransom. The remainder of his life (he died in 1199) was spent in warfare with Philip of France. Saladin, who had done so much to revive the Mohammedan power, died in 1193.

106. Fourth Crusade (1201–1204)

The enthusiasm which produced the Crusades was slowly dying out, but the exhortations of the papacy could still call it forth to momentary activity. Innocent III., who became Pope in 1198, appealed to the princes of Europe, as vassals of Christ, to reconquer for Him the Holy Land. No king responded to this call, but a number of knights and nobles (mostly French) gathered at Venice for the Fourth

Crusade in 1201. It was intended at first to strike at the Mohammedan power in Egypt, as the likeliest way to secure the permanent recovery of Palestine; but circumstances led the crusaders to turn their arms against Constantinople, and waste their strength in fighting Christian foes.

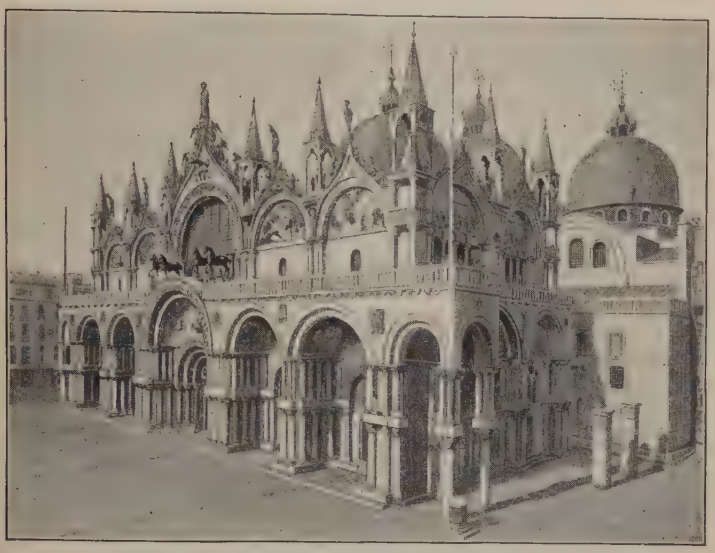
Six years earlier the Greek emperor, Isaac Angelus, had been overthrown, blinded, and imprisoned through a revolution; and his son came to the West to beg for aid. The Venetians, who had contracted to carry the crusaders to the East for a large sum of money, cared little for the crusade, but a great deal for their contract. When the crusaders found that they were not able to pay the full amount they had agreed upon, the Venetian "doge" (duke) Dandolo — a man ninety years of age and blind, but possessed of the highest courage and ambition for his city — induced their chiefs to turn their arms against Constantinople. Pope Innocent III. had already excommunicated the crusaders for attacking a Christian town in Dalmatia to aid the Venetians; but it was rightly believed that the prospect of extending the papal power over the Greek Church would cause him to forget his anger.

DOGE OF VENICE.
Costume before the 16th century. From Cesare Vecellio.

After a short siege, Constantinople fell in July, 1203 — the first time it was ever taken by a foreign foe. Isaac Angelus was restored to his throne, but he and his son soon perished in a rebellion of the fanatical populace, and the crusaders were forced to capture the city a second time. Terrible punishment was now meted out to the van-

107. Sack of Constantinople.

quished. In three great fires the most populous parts of the city were destroyed. Violence and indignity were the lot of the survivors; and Pope Innocent III. accused the crusaders of respecting neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession. The city was systematically pillaged; even the churches were profaned, and stripped of their rich hangings and of their gold and silver vessels. Precious works of art —



St. Mark's Church, Venice.
Façade remodeled in fifteenth century.

the accumulation of a thousand years — were destroyed; statues of brass and bronze were broken up and melted for the metal which they contained; and the Venetians carried to Venice the four bronze horses which still adorn the front of their Church of St. Mark. The more pious gave themselves to the search for holy relics — a venerable and profitable booty. As a result of this sack, Constantinople lost forever that unique splendor which had made it the wonder of the world.

In the division of the conquered territory the Venetians got the lion's share, receiving practically a monopoly of the trade of the empire, together with the possession of most of the islands and coast lands of the Ægean and Ionian seas. The remainder of the empire (so far as it was in the possession of the crusaders) was divided among their chiefs, and a feudal state was erected: of this "Latin Empire"

108. Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)

SALADIN'S EMPIRE, AND THE RESULTS OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

of Constantinople, Count Baldwin of Flanders was chosen emperor, while a Venetian priest was set as Patriarch over the Greek Church.

Tout, Empire and Papacy, 349

"No feudal state was ever strong, but no feudal state was ever so weak as the Latin Empire in the East;" this was chiefly due to the hostility of the Greeks to their new masters. In Asia Minor there was from the beginning a rival government which afforded a rallying point for the Greek nationality; and when Constantinople was recaptured by the Greeks, in 1261, the Latin Empire was overthrown, after half a century of uncertain existence. In certain localities

"Frank" feudatories were enabled to hold out longer, and the remains of their castles still dot the landscape of Greece. The Venetians kept much of their conquests for centuries, and long after the Middle Ages they retained something of the power in the eastern Mediterranean which Dandolo, their blind old doge, gained for them in the Fourth Crusade.

Throughout the thirteenth century there was much talk of crusades, and Europe was systematically and regularly taxed for them, but with very little positive results. In 1218 an expedition composed mainly of Germans, who made the long voyage around by Gibraltar in three hundred ships, was directed against Egypt. The city of Damietta, in the delta of the Nile, was taken, and the sultan offered in exchange the kingdom of Jerusalem. The offer was rejected; then the crusaders were defeated, and were glad to give up Damietta in return merely for a free retreat (1221).

109. Crusade against Egypt (1218–1221)

In 1228–1229 occurred a crusade under the Emperor Frederick II. which resulted in restoring Jerusalem for a time to the Christians, although the crusade was hampered by Frederick's quarrel with the Pope, who excommunicated him (§ 132) both before and after he sailed. Frederick, who was in advance of his age, treated with the sultan instead of fighting him; and by skillful negotiation he secured a truce for ten years, and the restoration of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem to the Christians (map, p. 129).

110. Crusade by Frederick II. (1228–1229)

After Frederick's departure, the kingdom of Jerusalem was for fifteen years filled with the wars and brigandage of Christians; and the only thing that saved it thus long from recapture was the fact that the Mohammedan world also was torn by dissensions. In 1244 Jerusalem was finally lost to a new Turkish race (the Charismians) fresh from the interior of Asia. This calamity produced no great outburst of crusading zeal; the Popes were engaged in the last desperate struggle with the Hohenstaufen Emperors (see ch. x.), and the peoples and

princes of western Europe were beginning to be occupied with problems nearer home.

111. Last crusades (1248–1291)

However, in 1248, Louis IX. of France (later canonized as a saint) set out for Egypt with a French army. He succeeded only in duplicating the failure of 1218: again Damietta was taken; then the army was defeated, King Louis and most of his men were captured, and he was forced to ransom himself by the surrender of Damietta and the payment of a large sum of money. After his release the king remained for four years (until 1254) in Syria, strengthening the few Christian posts that were left.

In 1270 Louis IX. again undertook a crusade, but was diverted this time to Tunis. There he died of the plague, and the army returned to France. Prince Edward of England had taken the cross at the same time, and spent two years in Syria, but returned in 1272 to take the English crown as Edward I. Acre, the last Christian stronghold in Syria, fell in 1291. Thereafter no armies went to Syria or Egypt to attempt the recovery of the holy places. Thenceforth the Latin power in the East was represented only by the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes. Soon Christendom had to tax its energies to defend Europe itself against the Ottoman Turks, the latest and most formidable champions of Mohammedanism. The period of the Crusades was at an end.

112. Results of the Crusades

The tendency has been to exaggerate the influence of the Crusades and to minimize the importance of other factors in changing the institutions and customs of Europe. Nevertheless, the migration, year by year, of thousands of persons to and from the Mohammedan East, during a period of nearly two centuries, could not but have important results for the Christian West.

(1) In respect to military usages, Europe owed to the Crusades the drum, trumpet, tents, quilted armor for the protection of the common soldier, the surcoat worn over the knightly coat

of mail, the whole system of armorial "bearings" (heraldic devices on shields, etc.) by which knights proclaimed their family and lineage, and many improvements in the art of building and taking fortified places: "the siege of great fenced cities like Nicæa, Antioch, or Jerusalem was almost an education in itself to the engineers of the West." Among social effects were the increased use of baths, the increased use of pepper and other spices in foods, and the wearing of the beard.

Oman, History of the Art of War, 526

(2) On the development of commerce, the Crusades exerted a great influence. Italian cities like Venice, Pisa, and Genoa

State Barge of Venice.

grew rich through the transportation of pilgrims and crusaders and their supplies, and through the importation into Europe of the products of the East. In the north, such cities as Ratisbon, Nuremberg, and the market towns of northern France developed as distributing centers for the importations of Italy, and regular routes of inland commerce were established. Money became increasingly necessary; banks were established, and means of exchange devised. "It was . . . not simply during the Crusades," says the German historian Prutz, "but as a result of them, and of the commerce which they had called into being, that money became a power — we might almost say a world power."

(3) A multitude of new natural products and manufactures — such as sugar cane, buckwheat, rice, garlic, hemp; the orange, watermelon, lemon, lime, and apricot; dyestuffs, cottons, muslins, damask, satin, and velvet — were introduced from the East in the Middle Ages; but it is difficult to say which of these came as a result of the Crusades, and which from peaceful intercourse with Constantinople, Syria, northern Africa, and Spain.

(4) The political and social organization of Europe was already undergoing profound modification, and the Crusades helped on the change. Crusaders often freed their serfs to get money, or for the good of their souls. The wealth gained by townsmen in commerce enabled them to buy or wrest important rights of self-government from their lords. The feudal nobles, especially of France, were greatly weakened by the enormous waste of their numbers and resources in the East; and the lower classes and the crown were correspondingly strengthened. In Germany, where as a class the nobles would have nothing to do with the Crusades, they were neither impoverished nor reduced in numbers, nor was their military and political importance diminished; for this reason, among others, Germany was later than France in entering upon the path of social progress, industrial development, and real national unity.

(5) The most important influence of all was in the world of thought. The hundreds of thousands who made the journey to the Orient had their minds stimulated and their mental horizons broadened by beholding new lands, new peoples, and new customs. "They came from their castles and their villages," says a French writer, "having seen nothing, more ignorant than our peasants; they found themselves suddenly in great cities, in the midst of new countries, in the presence of unfamiliar usages." Thus the way was paved for the subtle change in intellectual atmos-

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 346

phere, beginning in the fourteenth century, which we style the Renaissance. This we may reckon the greatest though the most indefinite result of the whole crusading movement; but other factors, it must not be forgotten, were already working in the same direction.

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113. Summary

The conquests made by the crusaders in the Holy Land were organized as a feudal kingdom, of which the chief defense was the three crusading orders — the Knights Hospitaler, the Knights Templar, and the Teutonic Knights. The Second Crusade (1147–1149), occasioned by the fall of Edessa, was undertaken by Conrad III. of Germany and Louis VII. of France, and ended in failure. The Third Crusade (1189–1192), caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, was led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Richard I. of England, and Philip Augustus of France; Acre was taken, but Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Mohammedans. The Fourth Crusade (1201–1204) was turned by the Venetians against Constantinople, and resulted in the establishing of the Latin Empire of the East, which lasted from 1204 to 1261. The Emperor Frederick II. led a crusade (1228–1229), which regained Jerusalem through treaty; but it was lost again in 1244. In 1248 Louis IX. of France led an unsuccessful crusade against Egypt; and in 1270 he led a second crusade against Tunis, equally without result. After 1291 the crusading movement to the East was at an end. Although the Crusades failed to recover permanently the Holy Land, they profoundly influenced Europe, especially through the wider outlook and the stimulus to thought which they supplied.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why were the Latin states in the East organized on a feudal model? (2) To what forces was the defense of Palestine left in

the intervals between the Crusades? (3) Why did the Second Crusade fail? (4) Compare the organization and leadership of the Third Crusade with that of the First. Why did it accomplish less? (5) Was the Fourth Crusade more of a religious or a political war? (6) Why were the later crusades directed against Egypt? (7) Why did the crusading movement come to an end when it did? (8) Did the Crusades on the whole do more good or more harm?

Search topics

(9) The life of a Knight Templar. (10) Saint Bernard as a preacher of the Second Crusade. (11) Relations of Christians and Mohammedans in Palestine. (12) Saladin. (13) The sect of the Assassins and the Old Man of the Mountain. (14) Richard the Lion-Hearted as a crusader. (15) The "Children's Crusade." (16) The Crusade of Frederick II. (17) The Crusade of Louis IX. to Egypt. (18) Effect of the Crusades on home realms and estates of crusaders.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPIRE AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNES (1125-1190)

We must now turn to the history of Germany and Italy in the period of the Crusades. The death of Henry V. — the last of the Franconian Emperors — in 1125 without a son gave opportunity for a free election for the first time in a century; and Lothair II. of Saxony was chosen king of Germany. "It is with good right," says a writer of that time, "that we call Lothair the father of his country, for he upheld it strenuously and was always ready to risk his life for justice's sake." "In his days," says another, "the service of God increased and there was plenty in all things." In 1133 Lothair led an expedition into Italy to settle a disputed election to the papacy, and was crowned Emperor. A second expedition to Italy three years later was successfully directed against the Norman, Roger II., who had united southern Italy to Sicily; but in the moment of victory the Pope and the Emperor quarreled over the suzerainty of the Norman territories. Lothair, who was upward of seventy years of age, died on his way back to Germany. Two years later, Roger made a peace with the papacy by which his assumption of the title King of Sicily was sanctioned, and he agreed to hold his kingdom as a papal fief.

114. Prelude to Hohenstaufen period (1125-1138)

Tout, Empire and Papacy, 225

On the death of Lothair without a son, Conrad, nephew of Henry V., was chosen king at an assembly in which the magnates of Franconia and Swabia alone were present. In

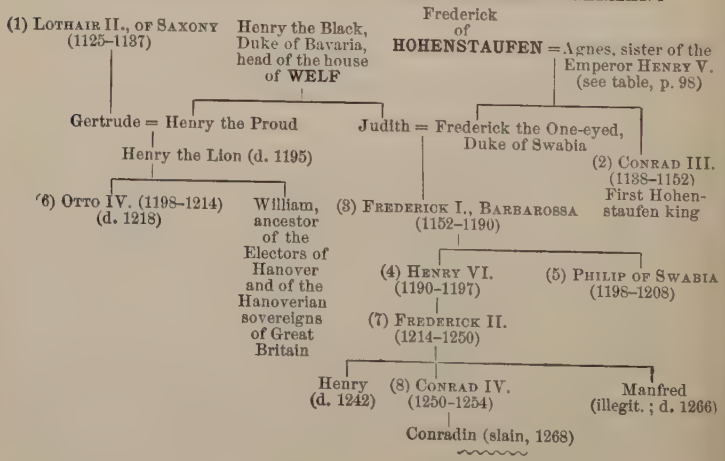
his person, the Hohenstaufen house, the most brilliant of all the imperial houses, mounted the throne, and for six reigns it guided the destinies of Germany and Italy (reigns 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 in table below).[1]

115. Guelf and Ghibelline

The candidate of the Saxons and Bavarians in 1138 was the head of the family of Welf, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria and Saxony and son-in-law of Lothair; he made himself the

RUINS OF HOHENSTAUFEN. (From an old print.)

[1] THE HOUSES OF WELF AND HOHENSTAUFEN IN GERMANY


(1) Lothair II., of Saxony (1125–1137)
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, head of the house of WELF
Frederick of HOHENSTAUFEN
Agnes, sister of the Emperor Henry V. (see table, p. 98)
Gertrude = Henry the Proud
Judith = Frederick the One-eyed, Duke of Swabia
Henry the Lion (d. 1195)
(2) Conrad III. (1138–1152) First Hohenstaufen king
(6) Otto IV. (1198–1214) (d. 1218)
William, ancestor of the Electors of Hanover and of the Hanoverian sovereigns of Great Britain
(3) Frederick I., Barbarossa (1152–1190)
(4) Henry VI. (1190–1197)
(5) Philip of Swabia (1198–1208)
(7) Frederick II. (1214–1250)
Henry (d. 1242)
(8) Conrad IV. (1250–1254)
Manfred (illegit.; d. 1266)
Conradin (slain, 1268)

head of the North German opposition to the Hohenstaufen, and for three quarters of a century the kingdom was torn by the quarrels of these powerful families. Their rival cries, "Hi Welfen!" and "Hi Waiblingen!" (the latter from a little village of Swabia near the castle of Hohenstaufen), gave rise to new party names. Beginning as a struggle of rival families, the contest became a warfare of contending principles. In general, the Hohenstaufen party, or "Ghibellines" (corrupted from Waiblingen), stood for the principle of strong monarchical government and for imperial rule over Italy; whereas the "Guelf" (or Welf) party represented feudal opposition to the monarchy, and the independence of the Italian towns. It was impossible for the papacy to avoid taking sides; in Germany its influence was usually, and in Italy almost always, on the side of the Guelfs. "Broadly speaking, the Guelfs were papalists, the Ghibellines imperialists; the Ghibellines were the party who desired a strong government, the Guelfs the party who preferred particularism; the Ghibellines would bring in the German, the Guelfs would cry 'Italy for the Italians.'" But these larger issues were gradually lost sight of in the feuds of factions; and by the fifteenth century the names Guelf and Ghibelline lingered only in Italy, where they came to mean no more than party differences in the mode of building battlements, in wearing feathers in the cap, in cutting fruit at the table, in habits of yawning, passing in the street, throwing dice, gestures in speaking or swearing.

Fisher, Mediæval Empire, I. 331

A quarrel between Conrad III. and Henry the Proud began almost immediately through Conrad's attempt to deprive his Welf rival of his duchies. Dukedoms, like the office of count, though originally in the gift of the king, were fast becoming hereditary; this attack, therefore, produced civil war. In the midst of the struggle Henry the Proud died, leaving as his heir a ten-year-old son, later known as

116. Conrad III., first Hohenstaufen Emperor (1138–1152)

Henry the Lion; a compromise was then arranged by which the duchy of Saxony was restored to the house of Welf, but Bavaria was withheld.

The great event of Conrad's reign was the German expansion to the northeast, which in spite of anarchy and civil war went steadily on. It owed its success to the efforts of local rulers; especially was it indebted to a great religious leader, Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, the founder of a new order of clergy (the Premonstratensian canons), who took the leading part in Christianizing and civilizing the Slavs beyond the Elbe.

Modern historians maintain that it is impossible to establish the descent of the municipal governments of the Middle Ages from those of Roman times. In Italy, as elsewhere, the Germanic invasions left the ancient cities dismantled and reduced in population. Those who continued to dwell on the ancient sites were mere serfs, like the peasants of the surrounding country, and were governed by counts or (as in Lombardy) by bishops who held the powers of counts.

117. Italian communes

Nevertheless many elements of urban life, though not of municipal institutions, were preserved; these, with the privileges and immunities granted the count-bishops, and the advantages afforded for commerce and industry, led to an earlier revival of city life there than elsewhere. Walls were restored or newly erected, and in time city governments followed. The union of merchants and artisans in "guilds," for the control of commerce and of different trades or crafts, became a precedent for that larger union of the inhabitants which eventually wrested freedom and self-government from their rulers. Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the count-bishops of the Lombard cities lost their sovereign rights, which passed to the citizens. At the same time war was made upon neighboring barons, whose castles threatened the newly won independence of the towns; and the feudal nobility were forced to

throw in their lot with the municipalities, taking up their residence for part of every year within the city walls. Danger from without was thus reduced, but another danger followed: every city soon bristled with tall, battlemented towers, the strongholds of rival clans; and family, factional, and regional fights, the expression of hereditary hatreds, became alarmingly frequent.

In the communes of Lombardy there were three chief organs of government. The executive power in war and peace was in the hands of a board of "consuls," varying in number from eight to twenty, chosen for short terms, and paid out of the city treasury. As advisers and assistants to the consuls there were secret councils, without whose consent no important action could be taken. Behind these stood the general assembly (the *Parlamentum*) of all the men belonging to the commune; but this, in most cities, was convened only on extraordinary occasions.

These communal governments were free in the sense that they were practically exempt from external control; but their citizens were far from enjoying individual liberty. The member of a commune was bound to his town as closely as a serf to the soil; he belonged all his life to a certain class, to a trade, to a guild, to a parish, to a ward; and the details of his private life — such as the number of trees he might plant in his orchard, the number of priests and candles he might employ at funerals — were all precisely regulated.

118. Civil and canon law

With the growth of city life, and the discussions aroused by the investiture conflict, came the revival of the study of Roman or civil law. Until the twelfth century, the written law of Rome, though regarded with superstitious reverence, was imperfectly understood; now men awoke to the consciousness that in its precepts were principles applicable to the new conditions produced by the rise of city life. At Bologna, the fame of Irnerius, who began to lecture on the *Code* and

Institutes of Justinian about the year 1110, drew together a body of students which numbered ten thousand by the close of the century. "Of all the centuries," says a writer on the history of law, "the twelfth is the most legal. In no age since the classical days of Roman law has so large a part of the sum total of intellectual endeavor been devoted to jurisprudence. . . . From every corner of western Europe students flocked to Italy. It was as if a new gospel had been revealed. Before the end of the century complaints were loud that theology was neglected, that the liberal arts were despised, . . . that men would learn law and nothing but law."

Pollock and Maitland, English Law, I. 111

A powerful class of trained lawyers resulted from this study. One of the principles of Roman jurisprudence was that "the will of the prince has the force of law"; the lawyers, therefore, became valuable allies of Emperors and kings in their warfare against feudal and clerical opponents, and greatly aided in transforming the feudal sovereignties of the Middle Ages into the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth century.

Institutes, I. ii. 6

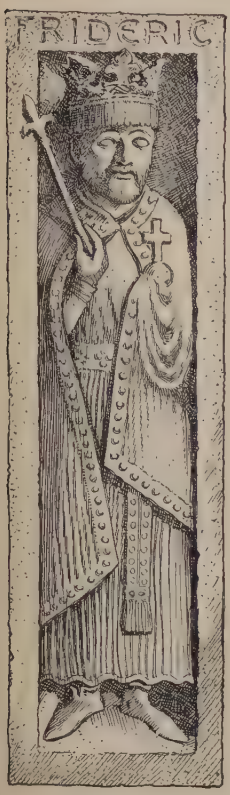
At the same time with the revival of the study of the civil law, the study of the church or canon law also received a powerful impetus, in part because of such contests as that over investiture, and in part from the preparation of a text-book on canon law called (from its author, a monk named Gratian) the *Decretum Gratiani*. The canon law was based on the teachings of Scripture and the Fathers, the decrees of church councils, and the decretals of Popes (not excepting the False Decretals, § 63). It became as elaborate and comprehensive a system as the civil law; and canon lawyers proved as zealous upholders of the papal claims as civil lawyers were of imperial prerogatives.

When the princes of Germany met, in 1152, to select a successor to Conrad III., they passed by his infant son and chose his nephew Frederick, in whose veins ran Welf as well

as Hohenstaufen blood (see genealogy on p. 146). This election, taken with the two preceding ones, established it as "the cardinal principle of the law of the Roman Empire," to use the language of a contemporary chronicler, "that the succession depends not upon hereditary right, but on the election of the princes." The German kingship was becoming definitely elective, while in France and England the crown was becoming definitely hereditary. This difference was due in large part to the fact that the German king, after his coronation by the Pope, was also Emperor, and the Popes never admitted that the imperial dignity was hereditary, or that the coronation as Emperor was to be considered a mere form. Papal influence, therefore, combined with the interest of the princes to keep up the custom of election.

119. Accession of Frederick Barbarossa (1152)

Otto of Freising



FREDERICK I.
Twelfth century sculpture on wall of a Bavarian monastery.

Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa (Redbeard), was in many respects the ideal Emperor of the Middle Ages. He combined the qualities of a skilled statesman and good general with the virtues of a crusader and hero of romance. His greatest ambition, as he wrote the Pope soon after his accession, was to restore the grandeur of the Roman Empire in all its ancient vigor and excellence. But unlike Otto III., Frederick was no dreamer; he sought to know his rights as Emperor, and he used practical means to enforce them: he has well been called an "imperialist Hildebrand." His

first task was to settle affairs north of the Alps so that he might be free to carry out his imperial ambitions in Italy. Bavaria was restored to his cousin Henry the Lion, while its dispossessed holder was given a new duchy, that of Austria (*Oesterreich*), formed from the old Ostmark of Bavaria.

Before these arrangements were completed, Frederick was called into Italy, where the ambition of the Norman king was causing trouble, and the Roman populace had rebelled against the Pope and set up a commune. The leading spirit at Rome was a visionary reformer named Arnold of Brescia — a man, Saint Bernard once wrote, "whose words are as honey, but whose doctrines are poison, whom Brescia cast forth, at whom Rome shuddered, whom France has banished, whom Germany will soon hold in abomination, whom Italy will not endure." From Lombardy also came complaints of the oppressions suffered by the smaller cities from their powerful neighbor Milan. Hastening over the Alps in 1154, Frederick taught the Italians, by the destruction of Tortona, one of Milan's allies, that the Emperor was still to be feared. At Pavia he assumed the iron crown of Italy, and soon after received the imperial crown at Rome from Pope Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever filled the papal office. Rome was reduced to order, and Arnold of Brescia, who was handed over to the prefect of the city by Frederick, was hanged and his body burned.

120. First Italian expedition of Frederick I. (1154–1155)

Milman, Latin Christianity, IV. 238

Soon after Frederick's return from Italy, a quarrel broke out, which shows the difficulty of long preserving harmonious relations between papacy and empire. A legate of Adrian IV. delivered a letter to Frederick in which mention was made of the "benefits" (*beneficia*) conferred upon the Emperor by the Pope. When objection was made to the letter on the ground that the language used might bear the sense of a feudal "benefice" granted by a lord to a vassal, the legate added fuel to the fire by asking, "Of whom, then, does he hold the

empire but of our lord the Pope?" In a written declaration Frederick replied that "the empire is held by us, through the election of the princes, from God alone. . . . Whosoever says that we received the imperial crown from the lord Pope as a benefice, goes against the divine commandment and the teaching of Peter, and is guilty of falsehood." Subsequently the Pope explained that the word *beneficia* in his letter meant benefits and not fiefs; but the distrust aroused could not be allayed.

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 83

From 1158 to 1162 Frederick was again in Italy, called thither by the ambitions of the Milanese. After a brief resistance, their city submitted. A great "diet," or meeting of imperial vassals and communes, was held in the plain of Roncaglia; and in order that the Emperor's prerogatives might be known for the future, all holders of rights of government and the like were required to show by what warrant they exercised them. With respect to the Lombard cities, it was announced that the Emperor's control was no longer to be merely nominal, but that their magistrates would be appointed by him with the assent of the people.

121. Second Italian expedition of Frederick I. (1158–1162)

Opposition to the execution of these decrees soon manifested itself. At Milan the attempt to set up a foreign magistrate in place of the elective consuls led to a new revolt, in which the citizens with heroic courage held out for three years. When at last famine forced them to yield, Frederick, "hardening his face like a rock," decreed the destruction of their city: the loudest complaints against Milan had come from its Italian enemies, and it was their hands which carried out the decree.

The successes of the Emperor in Lombardy aroused apprehensions at Rome. When Adrian IV. died, a majority of the cardinals chose as Pope, under the name of Alexander III. (1159–1181), that legate whose bold language had called forth Frederick's declaration concerning the imperial office; in ability and lofty ambition he proved a

122. Papacy and Lombard League (1159–1174)

worthy successor of the great Hildebrand. The minority of the cardinals elected an anti-pope favorable to the imperial cause. To the demand that the disputed election should be referred to a council of the whole church, Alexander replied, "No one has the right to judge me, since I am the supreme

The Lombard League (1167) and the Tuscan League (1196).

judge of all the world." Frederick supported his anti-pope, and in 1165 swore never to acknowledge Alexander III. or any Pope elected by his party; but by France, England, and the rest of Western Christendom Alexander was recognized.

After four years of exile in France, Alexander returned to Rome, in 1165, only to be driven forth two years later by a

force which Frederick led over the Alps. The Lombard communes then united in a league against the Emperor; and the very cities which had demanded the destruction of Milan now lent aid to rebuild and refortify it. Within a few months the chief towns of the plain of the Po, from Milan to Venice, from Bergamo to Bologna, were formed into a confederation pledged to mutual assistance. Alexander sent his blessing to the confederates, and they in turn supported his cause; and a new city, founded to guard the descent into Italy by the western passes, was named Alessandria in his honor. Out of hatred to Germany, Italy seemed about to arrive at a consciousness of national unity.

For six years Italy enjoyed practical independence. In Germany, Frederick found increasing difficulty in keeping the clergy true to his anti-pope; while the growing power of Henry the Lion in the north threatened trouble. Not until 1174 was the Emperor able to lead another expedition into Italy. In 1176 came the decisive battle, when the imperial army, numbering six thousand, encountered the eight thousand troops of the Lombard League at Legnano, not far from Milan. At first the mail-clad German horsemen carried all before them; but the guard about the Milanese *carroccio*, a war chariot bearing an altar and the banners of the confederated towns, fought desperately, and the Emperor himself was at length unhorsed.

123. Defeat of Frederick I. at Legnano (1176)

MAIL-CLAD GERMAN HORSEMAN.
From a 12th century MS.

The imperial forces fled, and it was only with difficulty and almost unattended that Frederick reached Pavia. "Glorious has been our triumph," wrote the Milanese to Bologna, "infinite the number of the killed among the enemy, the drowned, the prisoners. We have in our hands the shield, the banner, cross, and lance of the Emperor, and we found silver and gold in his coffers, and booty of inestimable value; but we do not consider these things ours, but the common property of the Pope and the Italians."

Frederick was now forced to make peace with the Pope, with the communes, and with the Norman king, who had supported their cause. At Venice, in 1177, he acknowledged Alexander as Pope, and prostrated himself at his feet: it was just one hundred years since Henry IV. humbled himself before Gregory VII. at Canossa. The final peace with the communes was not concluded until 1183, at Constance, when their rights to elect their own officers, to build fortifications, to enter into leagues, to raise troops, and to coin money were clearly recognized. Thenceforth the cities of Lombardy were practically self-governing republics, the barest overlordship remaining to the Emperor. Under these new conditions their commerce flourished more and more; but their political life, under the overstimulus of freedom, broke out incessantly into quarrels and riots. In many respects the mediæval communes fell short of our ideas of orderly liberty and political justice; but it was amid the busy, turbulent life within their walls that the Renaissance spirit was developed.

124. Treaties of Venice (1177) and Constance (1183)

While Frederick was pursuing the shadow of power in Italy, Henry the Lion was seizing its substance in Germany. After his restoration to the duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, his calculating leadership raised the power of his family to a yet higher point by conquering the Slavic lands between the Elbe and the Oder. Lübeck, the first German town to arise on the Baltic Sea, and Munich, the present capital of

125. Fall of the house of Welf (1180)

Bavaria, owe their existence largely to him. The Emperor long pursued a conciliatory policy toward his formidable rival, and assisted him when his Saxon vassals rebelled; but the refusal of Henry to aid the Emperor in Italy caused Frederick to abandon his policy of conciliation. Henry was cited to appear at different diets to answer charges preferred by nobles and clergy under him; and after his fourth citation and failure to appear, he was condemned by default, and sentenced to banishment and the forfeiture of his lands. The support given the Emperor by the lesser nobles made the execution of this sentence easy, and for some years Henry the Lion was forced to live in exile in Normandy and England. Ultimately he regained his allodial estates (§ 33), and these became the nucleus of the later duchy of Brunswick and electorate of Hanover, from which Great Britain in 1714 derived its present line of kings.

The vacant Saxon duchy (shorn of its western half) was given to a member of the Ascanian house, and the name "Saxony" shifted somewhat to the south and east of its old location. Bavaria was bestowed on Otto of Wittelsbach, in whose house it still remains; but it, too, was weakened by the separation of important districts. These changes marked the end of the "stem-duchy" system of territorial organization, and the beginning of that policy of division and subdivision which by the end of the Middle Ages made Germany a chaos of petty principalities and lordships. Actually the benefit of the downfall of Henry the Lion went to the local nobility who supplied the force by which it was carried out.

126. German cities and civilization

Frederick's reign constitutes one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of mediæval Germany. The rural districts advanced in prosperity; forests were cleared, land increased in value, and agriculture was improved. The condition of the peasants, both serfs and free tenants, was materially bettered. The turbulent life of the nobles was somewhat softened and refined, as a result of the intimate connections

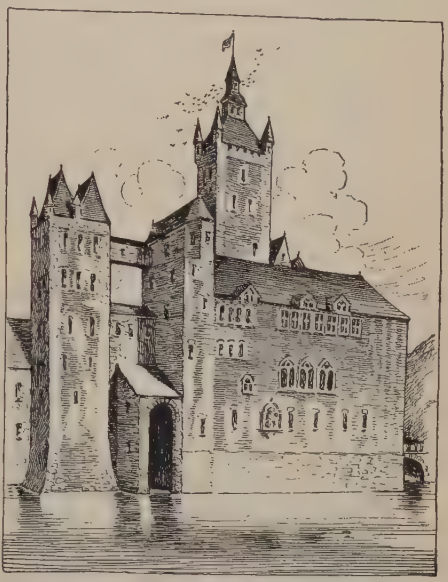
with Italy and Burgundy, and of the Crusades. A courtly German literature was born in the chivalric lays of the "Minnesingers," at the same time that the old heroic songs of the people were consolidated into the great German epic styled the *Niebelungenlied.*

A stimulus was also given at this time to the growth of city life in Germany. At the beginning of the tenth century there was little German commerce; but gradually fairs and markets were founded at favored places, trade arose, and centers of population sprang up, especially in the Rhine and Danube valleys. Thus localities formerly inhabited only by peasants were transformed into towns, with walls and ramparts, weekly markets, guilds and other associations, and some rights and privileges against their feudal lords. The continued struggle of lay and ecclesiastical powers, together with the Crusades, helped on their development. Strassburg, on the middle Rhine, whose original constitution is considered to be the earliest municipal code of Germany, may be taken as a type of the most important German towns of the twelfth century. The population was probably less than ten thousand. The houses were of timber, with thatched roofs, and without chimneys, which were rare as yet even in castles. Here and there churches were interspersed, but no mighty cathedral dominated the landscape. The whole of this "water-bound plexus of walls, moats, houses, streets, gardens, and plowed fields" was under the feudal rule of the bishop, to whom the citizens owed many services and dues. Under Frederick Barbarossa the towns grew in population, wealth, privileges, and power; but the time was not yet come when they, like the cities of Italy, should be practically self-governing republics.

127. Last years of Frederick I. (1184–1190)

The last years of Frederick's reign were taken up with new Italian plans, with renewed quarrels with the papacy, and with the Third Crusade. Constance, the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Naples, was married to

Frederick's son and successor, Henry VI. This aroused the fierce hostility of the papacy, for the union of southern Italy with Germany threatened the independence of the Papal States. The final conflict to which this led was deferred till the reign of Frederick's grandson; but even at this time the relations of Pope and Emperor were strained almost to breaking. The fall of Jerusalem before the attacks of Saladin, in 1187, was the chief factor in preventing an open rupture. For the second time Frederick took the cross and departed for the East, where he died, as has already been related (§ 104). Later ages, looking back to the splendors of his reign, feigned to believe that he was not dead, and applied to him the legend of another Frederick, now identified as a count of Thuringia: the vanished ruler, it was said, was sleeping through the ages in a rocky cavern of a German mountain; when the ravens ceased to fly about its summit, he would awaken and would then return to chastise evil doers and bring back the golden age.



CHATEAU OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA AT KAISERSWERTH.
A restoration.

Under Frederick Barbarossa, the second of the Hohenstaufen line, the mediæval empire attained its greatest glory. In

128. Summary

Germany the monarchy triumphed over the house of Welf and divided its feudal territories among the lesser nobles. In Italy the imperial control was for a time successfully asserted; but the strength of the confederated Lombard towns, and the hostility of the Popes, at length obliged the Emperor to renounce his rights. A marriage with the heiress of Sicily and Naples sowed the seeds of a new quarrel between papacy and empire. Frederick's reign closed with the Third Crusade, in which the Emperor lost his life. Other features of the period are the development of the civil and canon law, the growth of Italian and German towns, the continued expansion of Germany to the northeast, and the progress of German civilization.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) On what historical grounds might the Pope claim that the Emperor was his vassal for the imperial crown? (2) Why should the Popes oppose the development of a strong kingdom in southern Italy? (3) Was a Ghibelline or Guelf policy best for Germany? For Italy? (4) Which was of more importance, the imperial attempts to control Italy or the quiet expansion of Germany to the northeast? (5) Compare the Italian communes with the New England towns. What powers did the former exercise that the latter lack? (6) How did the study of Roman law aid monarchical growth? Was this to be desired? (7) Had Frederick I. or the Italian communes the more right in their struggle?

Search topics

(8) The Italian communes. (9) Revival of the Roman law. (10) The canon law. (11) Arnold of Brescia. (12) Pope Alexander III. (13) Henry the Lion. (14) Rise of the German cities. (15) The *Niebelungenlied*. (16) The Minnesingers. (17) Personality of Frederick Barbarossa. (18) Home of the Hohenstaufen in Germany. (19) Reasons for the greatness of Milan.

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A Mediæval Fair. (Depicted by Parmentier.)

CHAPTER X.

END OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPIRE (1190–1268)

HENRY VI., son of Frederick I., proved as ambitious and energetic as his father. He secured possession of his wife's Italian inheritance and united it to Germany. A rising of the Welf faction was overcome, largely through the fortunate accident which put into his power Richard I. of England, the ally of the Welfs (§ 105). He proposed to the German princes that they should declare the throne hereditary, in return for concessions to them, and almost gained their consent. Finally he planned a crusade which was expected to put the whole Latin East under his control, and make him overlord of the Greek Empire. Had he lived, he might for a time have established a world monarchy which would have realized the dreams of the Middle Ages; but he died of fever in 1197, on the eve of his departure for the East, leaving as heir a son (Frederick of Sicily) only three years of age.

129. Henry VI. (1190–1197)

All Germany, after Henry's death, "was like a sea lashed by every wind." The partisans of the Hohenstaufen chose Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, as king; but the opposing party selected Otto IV. of Brunswick, a son of Henry the Lion. Ten years of civil warfare followed, in which the advantage rested now with one party, now with the other.

During the division within the empire the papacy grew in power. Innocent III. (1198–1216) was in many respects the ablest and most powerful Pope of the Middle Ages. He firmly established the Papal States in Italy; and had as vassal kingdoms under him Sicily and Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Aragon, and Poland. Even the king of

130. Innocent III. and the empire (1198–1216)

England (John) was forced to surrender his kingdom into the hands of the Pope's legate, and receive it back as a fief of the papacy (§ 166). The papal suzerainty over the empire, which Frederick Barbarossa so vigorously denied, was again asserted, and Innocent claimed the right to decide the dispute which had arisen over the last imperial election. His decision was that Philip was unworthy as "an obstinate persecutor of the church, and the representative of a hostile house"; while Otto, though chosen by a minority, was "himself devoted to the church, of a race devoted to the church . . .: him, therefore, we proclaim, acknowledge as king; him then we summon to take on himself the imperial crown." Otto, in return, confirmed in their widest extent the possessions and privileges claimed by the Roman Church.

Milman, Latin Christianity, IV. 510–514

After Philip's murder by a private enemy (1208), Otto was for a time universally recognized, and was crowned Emperor. Soon he laid claim to unwarranted rights in Italy, and defied the Pope's excommunication. In Germany a diet of princes declared him deposed; and at their invitation, and with the aid of Innocent III., Frederick of Sicily (son of Henry VI.), now seventeen years old, crossed the Alps to claim the German throne as Frederick II. About him gathered all the old partisans of the house of Hohenstaufen, and with them acted Philip Augustus of France, who had his own interests to further. Otto similarly was supported with men and money from his uncle, John of England. The decisive battle took place at Bouvines, in northern France, in July, 1214. The issue involved not merely the possession of the imperial crown, but the French occupation of Normandy and other English fiefs in France, and the cause of English liberty against the tyranny of King John (§ 166); thus the day of Bouvines has well been called "the greatest single day in the history of the Middle Ages." It ended in victory for France and the partisans of Frederick II., to whom passed the German and imperial crowns.

Frederick II. was already beginning to show the qualities which won for him the name "the wonder of the world."

131. Accession of Frederick II. (1214)

From contact with his Greek and Saracen subjects in Sicily he gained a culture unknown in the North; but he also developed a toleration, if not indifference, in religion, and a looseness of personal morality, which gave his enemies openings for attack. He was an impassioned poet, a profound lawgiver, and a subtle politician; the spirit which he displayed indeed was more modern than mediæval.

Frederick was reared as a ward of Innocent III., to whom he had been committed by his mother Constance; but the intimate relations thus established did not prevent a desperate struggle between papacy and empire. Before his coronation by the Pope in 1220, he solemnly swore to abolish all laws prejudicial to the liberties of the church, to cede Sicily to his son Henry to be held as a fief of the Holy See and not of the empire, to restore to the papacy the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, and to undertake a new crusade. These promises were broken almost as soon as made.

For a time Frederick could urge the pressure of German and Italian affairs as excuse for delaying his crusade. In

132. Frederick II. and the papacy (1225–1239)

1227 he assembled an army and embarked, but turned back because (as he alleged) of a pestilence which broke out on shipboard. Pope Gregory IX. refused to listen to his excuses, and excommunicated him. In June of the next year, Frederick again set sail, without receiving the papal absolution, and reached the Holy Land; but there the Pope put every obstacle in his way, on the ground that he was an excommunicated person.

Taking advantage of a civil war which broke out among the successors of Saladin, Frederick negotiated a treaty which secured to the Christians a truce for ten years with the possession of Jerusalem. This politic move, though bitterly denounced by the partisans of the Pope, secured greater advan-

tages than had been won by forty years of blind, unreasoning warfare. But when Frederick, still excommunicated, placed the crown of Jerusalem upon his head, the patriarch of Jerusalem issued an interdict forbidding all religious services in the holy places. After his return to Italy Frederick made peace with the Pope (1230); but in 1239 the struggle was renewed and was again extended to the Holy Land; and the hostility between the papal party and Frederick's agents was partly responsible for the final loss of Jerusalem in 1244 (§ 110).

133. Policy of Frederick II. (1230–1240)

The interval between 1230 and 1239 was used by Frederick II. to carry through a remarkable series of reforms which made Sicily for a time the strongest and best governed kingdom in Europe. In judicial matters the king's courts were put above the feudal and ecclesiastical tribunals. The nobles and clergy, along with the townsmen, were subjected to taxation. Unauthorized castles, the right of private warfare, trials by ordeal, and serfdom on the royal domains were abolished. Education was fostered by establishing the University of Naples, and favor was shown to trade and industry. Of these measures an English historian says, "The world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appeared to be arising, an epoch to be commencing in human civilization."

Milman, Latin Christianity, V. 398

For some years the crusade and these reforms kept Frederick south of the Alps, while his eldest son Henry, who in 1220 had been elected "king of the Romans" (*i.e.* German king elect), ruled Germany in his father's name. In 1234 the young king rebelled against his father, and Frederick went to Germany, where the rising was easily put down; thenceforth Henry's younger brother Conrad takes his place in the succession.

Frederick's attention throughout his reign was given more to his Italian possessions than to the North, and the policy which he pursued in Germany was directly opposed to that

embodied in his Sicilian reforms. In Germany, as a result of necessity, he "threw to the winds every national and monarchical tradition," and granted privileges to the nobles and great churchmen by which they became truly "lords" of their lands, possessed of all rights and jurisdictions. On the other hand, Frederick gave large privileges to the towns, seeking in them a support against the papacy and rebellious nobles. The net result of his policy was the enfeeblement of all central authority: Germany more and more ceased to be a state, such as England and France were becoming, and grew into a confederation of sovereign principalities.

134. Renewed struggle with the papacy (1239–1245)

Frederick's Sicilian reforms made him, in the eyes of the Pope, an oppressor of the clergy; his immoral private life increased the friction with the church; the toleration which he showed his Mohammedan subjects, and his use of them as troops in his wars, caused him to be suspected as a heretic; and his retention of Sicily and Naples, along with Germany and northern Italy, enabled him to hem in the Papal States both on the north and on the south. These causes for conflict led in 1239 to an open rupture with the Pope; and there began the last stage of the fatal struggle of papacy and empire, which brought political ruin to both powers. Gregory IX. renewed his excommunication, and absolved Frederick's subjects from their allegiance. Both Pope and Emperor appealed to Europe in letters of impassioned denunciation. Gregory called a church council to be held at Rome, but Frederick prevented its assembling by capturing the fleet carrying most of its members. Gregory died in 1241, and two years later one of Frederick's friends (Innocent IV.) was elected Pope. On hearing the news the Emperor is said to have exclaimed, "I have lost a good friend, for no Pope can be a Ghibelline." Innocent vigorously continued the policy of his predecessor. At this time came a horde of Mongols from Asia, who overran Poland and

Hungary, threatened Germany, and established a power in Russia (1240) which lasted for two hundred and forty years. In 1244 came the final downfall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In spite of these disasters to Christendom, the struggle between papacy and empire continued as fiercely as ever. At a church council held at Lyons in 1245, Frederick was pronounced guilty of perjury, heresy, and sacrilege; he was declared deposed, and war against the Hohenstaufen was turned into a crusade, with the same spiritual rewards as for warring against the Saracens.

135. Defeat and death of Frederick II. (1241–1250)

In Germany, Frederick's enemies stirred up a revolt, and elected an anti-king, but his son Conrad managed to hold many of the nobles and most of the cities true to their allegiance. In Italy, Frederick maintained himself with success, though Guelfs and Ghibellines fought each other with furious hate on every hand. But after a time misfortunes came upon him. His camp was captured; then his favorite son Enzio was taken captive and imprisoned. Frederick's cause was even yet far from hopeless when, in December, 1250, he was attacked by a disease from which, after a short illness, he died. An English writer of that time called him "the greatest prince of the world"; but his powers were lost on an age not ripe for them.

136. Fall of the Hohenstaufens (1250–1268)

After Frederick's death his reforms were overthrown, and his empire crumbled away in the hands of his successors. His son Conrad IV. (1250–1254) was obliged to abandon Germany to secure his inheritance in Italy; and for twenty years Germany was given up to the anarchy of the Great Interregnum, during which robber barons ruled by "the law of the fist," and no king was universally recognized. In Italy, Conrad maintained himself until his death in 1254. A half-brother, Manfred, then continued the struggle until he fell in battle at Benevento in 1266. There still remained Conradin ("Little Conrad"), the fifteen-year-old son of Conrad IV.,

about whom centered the last desperate resistance of the Hohenstaufen party. To secure aid in the struggle, the Pope offered the kingdom of Sicily to an English prince; then, in 1265, he concluded a treaty by which Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king, was to have the Sicilian crown. In 1268, Charles met and defeated the little army which Conradin brought into Italy; and when the young king fell into the hands of his enemy, he was cruelly beheaded. In his person perished the last member of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen.

CHARLES OF ANJOU INVESTED WITH THE CROWN OF THE TWO SICILIES BY A BULL GIVEN BY THE POPE (CLEMENT IV.).

Fresco pictured in Viollet-le-Duc.

"From whatever point we may view it," says a French historian, "the death of Frederick II. and the fall of the house of Hohenstaufen mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. The Middle Age proper, in the form which it had worn since the days of Charlemagne, was now at an end. This is as true in the history of thought and the arts as it is in political history. In the course of the long struggle between church and empire, a new society had been formed, with different features and a spirit that was wanting to the old. From Charlemagne to

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 231

Frederick II. the papacy and the empire occupy the first place in the history of the time; but now the papacy had crushed the empire." The old ideal of two powers divinely commissioned to rule the world in conjunction — the ideal expressed in the figures of the "two swords," and of the "two lights," — the sun and the moon — was now abandoned. The papacy itself for a time sought to be the supreme head in temporal affairs as well as in spiritual, and this ideal conception was soon embodied in the person of a Pope (Boniface VIII.) who arrayed himself in the papal tiara and the imperial robe, and exclaimed, "I am Cæsar — I am Emperor!" But, though the empire had fallen, the national monarchies of Europe were just arising; and with Philip IV. of France, the head of the most formidable of these, the papacy soon came into disastrous collision.

Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 109

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137. Summary

The brilliancy of the Hohenstaufen Empire was continued in the short reign of Henry VI. (1190–1197); then followed a struggle for the crown, which ended in the triumph of his son Frederick II. (1214–1250). The first sixteen years of his reign saw a new contest with the papacy, which centered in Frederick's crusade. Following this came, in Sicily and Naples, a series of important reforms which strengthened the royal power, while in Germany concessions were made to the princes which materially increased their power and weakened the crown. The last ten years of the reign were occupied with a new struggle with the papacy. After Frederick's death the Pope refused to recognize any of the Hohenstaufen house, and the struggle was continued by Conrad IV., Manfred, and finally by Conradin. The aid of a French prince, Charles of Anjou, enabled the Pope to overthrow the last of the Hohenstaufen family. Charles of Anjou secured the kingdom of Sicily and Naples; but Germany, during the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), was practically without a king. The papacy

was left victorious over the empire, which never recovered the importance it had possessed under the Hohenstaufen rule.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics (1) Compare the papal power under Innocent III. with that under Gregory VII. (2) Why should Frederick's treaty with the Mohammedans in the Holy Land of itself arouse opposition? (3) How do his measures in Sicily show him to have been ahead of his time? (4) Was the enfeeblement of the central authority in Germany good or bad for that land? (5) Why was the opposition of the Popes to Frederick II. greater than to Frederick I.? (6) Was the continuance of the papal warfare against Frederick's descendants after his death warranted? (7) State in your own language the significance of the overthrow of the Hohenstaufen.

Search topics (8) Treatment of Richard I. of England by Henry VI. (9) Character and aims of Innocent III. (10) Character of Frederick II. (11) Crusade of Frederick II. (12) Reforms of Frederick II. in Sicily. (13) Development of Germany in his reign. (14) Account of a battle in the time of Frederick II. (15) Frederick's use of Saracen mercenaries.

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CHAPTER XI.

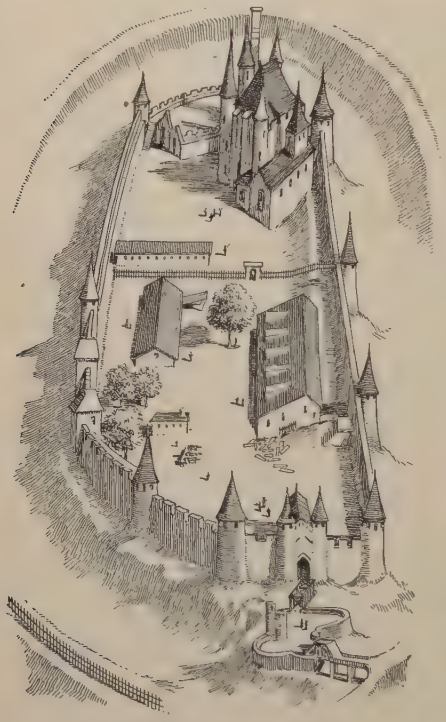
LIFE IN THE MEDIÆVAL CASTLE, VILLAGE, AND TOWN

In the Middle Ages almost every defensible hilltop and river island was occupied by the frowning castle of some feudal lord. At first the castle was a mere inclosure defended by ditch and palisade, with a sort of wooden blockhouse on a natural or artificial mound at the center, reached by a wooden bridge over a second ditch or moat. The ease with which such defenses could be destroyed by fire led, in the eleventh century, to the building of castles of stone; and the engineering skill of the Normans, together with the experience gained in the Crusades, made these structures intricate and complex. The chateau of Arques, built in Normandy, about 1040, by the uncle of William the Conqueror, is a type of the early stone castle. It was built upon a hilltop; was defended by a palisade, ditch, and two drawbridges with outer works; and was surrounded by a thick "bailey" wall, with battlements, strengthened by strong towers placed at intervals. Entrance was gained through a narrow vaulted gateway, placed between two towers and defended by doors and "portcullises," or iron gratings descending from above. The inclosure was divided into an "outer ward" and an "inner ward"; it contained separate buildings for stables, kitchen, and the like, and was large enough to shelter the surrounding population in time of war. At the extremity of the inner ward stood the "donjon," or "keep," the most important part of every castle.

138. The feudal castle

The donjon was often the residence of the feudal lord, though its gloom and cold usually led to the erection of a separate "hall" within the inclosure for residence in time of

peace. The donjon of Arques was a triumph of complicated defenses, consisting of enormous walls eight to ten feet thick, with winding passageways and stairs concealed in them, and cunningly devised pitfalls to trap the unwary. Here the last defense was made; and in case of defeat the position of the keep at one end of the inclosure aided escape through a postern gate directly opposite the entrance.



Chateau of Arques.
Restoration of Viollet-le-Duc.

Of more elaborate type than the chateau of Arques was the Chateau Gaillard (Saucy Castle), erected on the borders of Normandy by Richard the Lion-Hearted as a defense against Philip Augustus of France.

Hurling engines, movable towers, and battering rams were of little avail against such formidable castles, and until the introduction of gunpowder they were usually taken only by treachery, surprise, starvation, or undermining the walls. As the power of the kings increased, especially in France and England, the right of the nobles to erect castles was rigidly restricted; luxury, too, came in, and gradually the castle lost its character of a fortress and became merely a lordly dwelling place.

The training of the feudal noble, like his habitation, was all for war; but the church gave to it a religious consecration, and Chivalry, or the ideals and usages of knighthood, was the result. In his earlier years the young noble was left to the care of his mother; at about the age of seven he was sent to the castle of his father's lord, or to that of some famous knight, and his training for knighthood began. With other lads he served his lord and mistress as page, waited at table, and attended them when they rode forth to the chase; from them he learned lessons of honor and bravery, of love and courtesy; above all he learned how to ride and handle a horse. When he was a well-grown lad of fourteen or fifteen, he became a squire. He now looked after the grooming and shoeing of his lord's horses, and saw that his lord's arms were kept bright and free from rust. In war the squire accompanied the lord, carried his shield and lance, assisted in arming him for the battle, and stayed watchfully at hand to aid him in case of need.

139. Chivalry

When he reached the age of twenty or twenty-one, and had proved his courage and military skill, the squire was made a knight. The ceremony was often quite elaborate. First came a bath — the mark of purification. Then the candidate put on garments of red, white, and black — red for the blood he must shed in defense of the church, white to image the purity of his mind, and black as a reminder of death. All night before the altar of the church he watched his arms, with fasting and prayer; with the morning came confession, the holy mass, and a sermon on the proud duties of a knight. The actual knighting usually took place in the courtyard of the castle, in the presence of a numerous company of knights and ladies. The armor and sword were fastened on by friends and relatives; and the lord gave the "accolade" with a blow of his fist upon the young man's neck, or by touching him with the flat of his sword on the shoulder, saying: "In the name of God, and Saint Michael, and Saint George, I dub thee knight! Be

brave and loyal!" Then followed exhibitions of skill by the new-made knight, feasting, and presents. The details of the ceremony varied in different times and places. It must also be said that, in practice, chivalry was too often only a "picturesque mimicry of high sentiment, of heroism, of love and courtesy, before which all depth and reality of nobleness disappeared to make room for the coarsest profligacy, the narrowest caste spirit, and a brutal indifference to human suffering."

Green, Short History of the English People, ch. iv. § 3

The thick walls and narrow windows of the feudal castle made its apartments cold and dark in winter and close in summer, and life was spent as much as possible in the open air. War, tournaments, and the chase were the chief outdoor amusements. Falconry — the flying of trained hawks at small game — became a complicated science, with many technical terms, and was practiced with zest by ladies and lords alike; but the chase, with hounds, of deer, wild boars, and bears, was the more exciting sport. Within doors the chief amusements were chess, checkers, backgammon, and similar employments.

140. Daily life of the nobles

FALCONRY.

From a German manuscript of the 13th century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The great hall, whether within the donjon or in a separate

building, was the center of this life. About the great fireplace, master, mistress, children, and dependents gathered to play games, listen to tales of travel and adventure from chance visitors, and carry on household occupations. While the boys were trained to be knights, the girls learned to spin, sew, and embroider, to care for wounds, and to direct a household; like their brothers, they were often sent away from home for a time, and as maids of honor to some noble lady received the finishing touches of their education.

The furniture of the castles was substantial but scanty. Embroidered tapestries hung amid the weapons on the walls, and skins were placed underfoot for the sake of warmth. Chairs and benches, tables, chests, and wardrobes stood about the hall, and perhaps also the great corded bedstead of the master and mistress, with its canopy, curtains, and feather bed; but often these occupied a separate chamber. The men servants and attendants slept on the floor of the great hall.

141. Food of the nobles

The meals were served in the hall, on easily removable trestle tables, and all except those actively engaged at the time took their places at the board according to rank. The viands were brought, in covered dishes, across the court from the kitchen, which was a separate building. Jugs and vessels of curious shapes, often in imitation of animals, were scattered about the table. Before each person was placed a knife and spoon, and a drinking cup, often of wood or horn. Forks were unknown until the end of the thirteenth century, and food was eaten from a common dish with the fingers. Before and after each meal, pages brought basins of water with towels for washing the hands. There were no napkins; and pieces of bread, or the tablecloth, were used for cleansing the fingers during the meal. Dinner, served at midday, was announced by the blowing of horns; it was a long and substantial repast, consisting often of as many as ten

or twelve courses, mostly meats and game. Dressed deer, pigs, and other animals were roasted whole on spits before an open fire. Roast swans, peacocks, and boars' heads are frequently mentioned in mediæval writings; pasties of venison and other game were common; and on festal occasions live birds were sometimes placed in a pie to be released "when the pie was opened," and hunted down with falcons in the hall at the close of the feast. Wine was drunk in great quantities. Pepper, cloves, ginger, and other spices were used by the wealthy in both food and drink, even the wines being peppered and honeyed. Coffee, tea, and of course all the native products of America (tobacco, Indian corn, potatoes, etc.) were unknown.

Costumes varied with time and place, as also did armor (see § 39). Long pointed shoes, called *pigaces*, were invented by a count of Anjou to hide the deformity of his feet, and within a short time the style spread over Europe.

142. Costume of the nobles

Dress of the Carolingian pattern was used until the end of the eleventh century, when it was displaced by long garments imitated from those worn by the Byzantines; these were abandoned in the thirteenth century for other fashions.

The secrets of dyeing were long in the hands of the Jews; but in the thirteenth century the Italians learned the art, and the dyers then formed one of the most important guilds in Florence and other cities. Many dyestuffs were introduced into the West at the time of the Crusades; but cochineal, which gives a brilliant red, was not known until the discovery of Mexico, and the aniline dyes now largely used date from recent years. It is not too much to say that the most brilliantly tinted garments of the Middle Ages were poor and dull in hue compared with those now within reach of the poorest person.

Writers of the Middle Ages said that God had created three classes — priests to pray, knights to defend society, and peasants whose duty it was to till the soil and support by their labor the other classes. The peasants were divided

143. Life of the peasants

into serfs and villeins. (1) The serfs were personally unfree, *i.e.* they were "bound to the soil," and owed many special obligations to their lord; but, unlike slaves, they possessed plots of land which they tilled, and could not be sold off the estate. (2) The villeins were personally free, and were exempt from the most grievous burdens of the serf; but they too owed their lords many menial services and dues for their land, which took the form of money payments, and gifts of eggs, poultry, and the young of their flocks. The grinding of the peasants' meal, baking of their bread, pressing of their wine, oil, and cider, all had to be done with the lord's mill, oven, and press; and for the use of these, heavy fees were charged. The services consisted chiefly in cultivating the "demesne," or that part of the estate which was kept in the lord's own hand, and from which he drew the profits; two or three days' work a week, with extra work at harvest and other times of need, was the usual amount exacted. In course of time the services were precisely fixed or commuted for money payments.

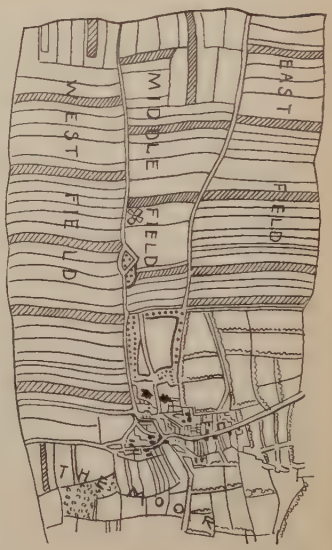
The peasants dwelt in villages, often at the foot of the hill on which stood the lord's manor house or castle. Near by was the parish church, with an open space in front and a graveyard attached. The peasants' houses usually consisted of but one room, and were flimsy structures of wood, or of wattled sticks plastered with mud, and were thatched with straw. There were few windows, no floors, and no chimneys; the door was often made in two parts so that the upper portion could be opened to permit the smoke to escape. The cattle were housed under the same roof with the family. The streets were unpaved, and were often impassable with filth. About each house was a small, ill-tended garden.

The lands from which the villagers drew their living lay about the village in several great unfenced or "open" fields, normally three. Besides these, there were "common" lands to which each villager sent a certain number of cattle or sheep

for pasturage; and the lord's woodland and waste, to which they went for fuel, and in which they might turn a limited number of pigs to feed on the mast (acorns and nuts). The rights of hunting and fishing belonged to the lord, and were jealously guarded.

144. Mediæval agriculture

The time not taken up with labors on the lord's demesne was used by the peasant in tilling his own small holding, in the open fields about the village. A full villein holding usually consisted of about thirty acres, scattered in long narrow strips in the different fields, intermixed with the holdings of other tenants. The origin of this curious arrangement of intermixed holdings in open fields has never been satisfactorily explained; but it existed over the greater part of western Europe, and lasted far down into modern times. The different strips were separated from one another by "balks" of unplowed turf. The plows were clumsy wooden affairs, which penetrated little below the surface. They were drawn by teams of from four to eight oxen; but the cattle of the Middle Ages were smaller than those produced by scientific breeding to-day.



PLAN OF A VILLAGE WITH OPEN FIELDS.

From a plan of the Common Field of Burton-Agnes, Yorkshire, England, in Taylor's *Domesday Studies*. The shaded strips, about one tenth of the whole, were the parson's share, or glebe.

A rude rotation of crops was practiced to avoid exhausting the soil. All the strips in a given field were planted with a winter grain (wheat) one year, the next year with a spring grain (oats), and the third year were plowed and lay fallow;

thus one third of the land was always resting. Under this primitive system of agriculture the yield was far less than now: in England, at the close of the thirteenth century, wheat yielded as low as six bushels an acre, and nine or ten bushels was probably a full average crop.

PEASANTS AND PLOW.
From a 13th century manuscript.

Bee keeping was more usual than in modern times, not only for the honey, which was used instead of sugar for almost all purposes of sweetening, but also for the wax needed to make the tall candles in the churches and the seals used on official documents. Every great estate, or "manor" as it was called in England, was self-supporting to a surprising extent. Ale was home-brewed; wool was spun and cloth woven in the household; and the village tanner, blacksmith, and carpenter performed the services beyond the powers of the household circle. For salt, and the rare articles that the village did not itself produce, the people of the manor resorted to periodical markets and fairs in neighboring towns.

The labor of the peasant was incessant, his food, clothing, and habitation of the rudest and poorest. He was ignorant and superstitious, and his oppression made him sullen. He was the butt for the wit of the noble classes and the courtly poets, and the name "villain" (villein) has been handed down by them to us as the synonym for all that is base.

The early history of the towns of Italy and Germany has already been traced (§§ 117, 126); those of France — which may be taken as typical of the life of the Middle Ages — arose in similar manner. There, as elsewhere, the barbarian invasions, together with the rise of feudalism, overthrew the old Roman municipalities and reduced the population to serfdom. In the eleventh century movements began which restored personal freedom to the populations of the towns, and gave them more or less of the rights of self-government; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries charters were purchased from the feudal lords, or extorted by successful war. The privileges set forth in these ranged from mere safeguards against oppression at the hands of the lord's officials, who still composed the only municipal government, to grants of administrative and judicial independence with a government chosen by the citizens.

145. Towns in France

For example, the charter granted the little town of Lorris, in central France, was of the former class. It provided (1) that no townsman should pay more than a small quitrent for his house and each acre of land, and should pay no toll on grain and wine of his own production, nor on his purchases at the Wednesday market; (2) that he should not be obliged to go to war for his lord unless he could return the same day; (3) that he should not be forced to go outside the town for the trial of his lawsuits, and that various abuses connected with the courts should be reformed; (4) that none should be required to work for the lord of the town, except to bring wood to his kitchen, and to take his wine twice a year to Orleans, and then only those who had horses and carts, and after due notice; (5) that no charge should be made for the use of the oven, nor for watch-rate, nor for the public crier at marriages, and that the dead wood in the forest might be taken by the men of Lorris for their own use; (6) that whoever wished might sell his property and freely depart, and that any

stranger who remained a year and a day without being claimed by his lord, should be free. This charter proved so popular that it was copied, in whole or in part, by eighty-three other towns; it was profitable alike to the little towns that received it, and to the lords who granted it.

Towns which secured the right to elect their officers and govern themselves are called "communes"; legally they were "artificial persons," or corporations, and entered into the feudal structure both as vassals and as suzerains. They were ruled either by a mayor and *échevins* (aldermen), or by a board of "consuls," like the Italian communes, without a mayor. The outward signs of a commune were the possession of a corporate seal; of a belfry, which served as watch tower, depot of archives, and magazine of arms; and of stocks and pillory for the punishment of offenders. Its charter was usually the culmination of a long series of disagreements, usurpations, and bloody insurrections; and frequent payments to lord and overlord were necessary to preserve its hard-won liberties.

146. Commune governments

From the twelfth century on, the towns grew in size and importance; and many enlightened lords (including the king) founded "new towns" to enrich their domains, offering reasonable liberties to attract settlers. These hardy townsmen formed the chief part of the class called the Third Estate, or commons, which gradually took its place in the political affairs of the kingdom alongside the "estates" of the Clergy and the Nobles. In the rise of the Third Estate lay the seeds of a whole series of revolutions, which were destined to shake feudal society from top to bottom, and cause its final destruction.

Mediæval towns were usually surrounded by walls defended by battlements and towers, while outside lay the settlements (called *faubourgs*) of the unprivileged inhabitants. In the belfry, watch was kept day and night: its warning bell announced the approach of enemies; sounded the alarm

147. Life in the towns

of fire, the summons to court and to council, and the hours for beginning and quitting work; and rang the "curfew" (*couvre feu*) at night, which was the signal to extinguish lights and cover fires. The streets were narrow and unpaved, and slops were emptied from second-story windows—sometimes even on the head of royalty passing by. Extensive gardens belonging to convents and hospitals caused the streets to twist and turn, and presented rare glimpses of green amid the wilderness of pointed roofs.

Belfry of Bruges.
Built from 1291 to about 1390; 352 feet high.

In the thirteenth century the wealthier citizens began to erect comfortable houses; but the ground-floor front was usually taken up by an arched window-opening in which the merchant displayed his wares, while in the rear were carried on the manufactures of the shop. The shopkeepers grouped themselves by trades: here was the street of tanners, there that of the goldsmiths, elsewhere the drapers, cement makers, parchment makers, and money changers. Churches, of which great numbers were built in the thirteenth century, rose above the shops and houses, which pressed up to their very walls; in towns which were the seats of bishops, giant cathedrals of Gothic architecture towered above everything else. The business quarters, with their open booths and stalls placed in the streets, resembled bazaars, through which pedestrians could with difficulty

thread their way; horses and carts were obliged to seek less crowded thoroughfares. At mealtime, business ceased, and booths were closed; when curfew sounded, the streets became silent and deserted — save for the watch, making their appointed rounds, and the adventurous few whom necessity or pleasure led to brave the dangers of the unlighted streets.

Even in the twelfth century the chief occupation of the citizens was still agriculture; but industry and commerce developed rapidly under the protection afforded by town walls and charters, and the growing power of the king. Industries were carried on entirely by hand labor; there were scarcely any machines other than the tools employed by workmen from times immemorial. Each trade was organized into a guild, which laid down rules for carrying it on, and had the power to inspect and to confiscate inferior products. The guildsmen were divided into three classes: apprentices, who served from three to thirteen years, and paid considerable sums for their instruction; workmen ("journeymen"), who had finished their apprenticeship and received wages; and masters, who had risen in the trade and had become employers.

148. Industry and guilds

Apprentices and workmen were lodged and fed with the master's family above the shop; and it was easy for a frugal workman to save enough to set up as a master in his turn: under these conditions antagonism between capital and labor did not exist. The guilds had religious and benevolent features also; each maintained a common fund, made up of fines assessed against members, which was used for feasting, for masses, for the relief of the sick and burial of dead members. Guilds formed of members pursuing a trade, such as weaving or dyeing, were called craft guilds; older, richer, and more influential in developing the liberties of the towns, were the merchant guilds, the members of which engaged in commerce.

After the Germanic invasions, commerce had almost ceased; there was little demand for foreign wares or costly articles of

10
0
10
60
50
40
Longitude
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
English Channel
Skager Rack
Bergen
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Stralsund
Danzig
Lübeck
Hamburg
Stettin
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Frankfort
Leipzig
Breslau
Cologne
Erfurt
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Passau
Vienna
Mainz
Frankfort
Antwerp
Bruges
Ghent
Ypres
Namur
Cambray
Boulogne
Southampton
Bristol
London
Stourbridge
Amsterdam
Yarmouth
York
Hull
Grimsby
Beauvais
Laon
Paris
Seine R.
Strasburg
Ulm
Augsburg
Orleans
Lorris
Troyes
Loire R.
Tours
Basel
Rhine R.
Brenner Pass
Chalons
Julier Pass
Alps
Lyons
Rhone R.
Milan
Verona
Venice
Po R.
Genoa
Florence
Pisa
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Beaucaire
Narbonne
Marseilles
Pyrenees
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Oporto
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Barcelona
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Tagus R.
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Guadalquivir R.
Seville
Messina
SICILY
Syracuse
Strait of Gibraltar
Algiers
Tunis
Oran
Tripoli
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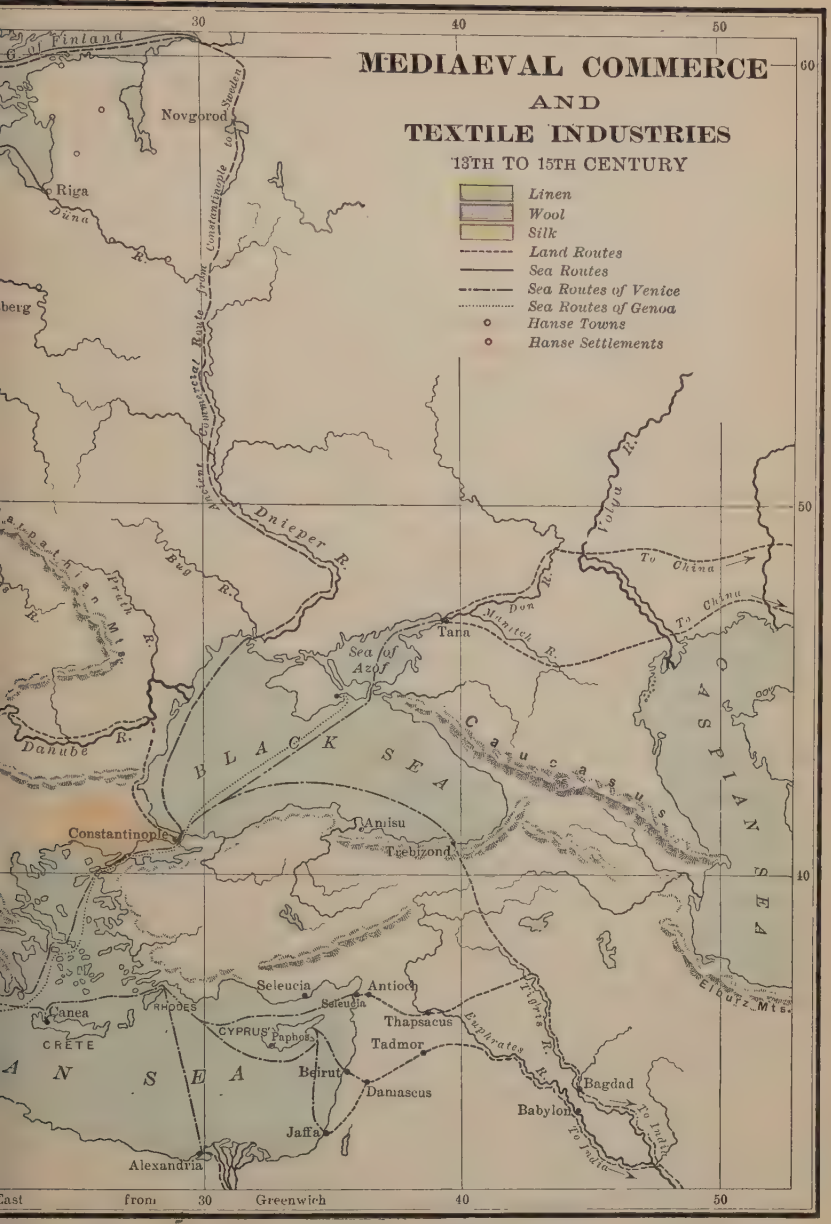
MEDIAEVAL COMMERCE
AND
TEXTILE INDUSTRIES
13TH TO 15TH CENTURY
Linen
Wool
Silk
Land Routes
Sea Routes
Sea Routes of Venice
Sea Routes of Genoa
Hanse Towns
Hanse Settlements
Ancient Commercial Route from Constantinople to Sweden
Gulf of Finland
Novgorod
Riga
Duna R.
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Carpathian Mts.
Dniester R.
Danube R.
Volga R.
To China
Don R.
Manitch R.
Tana
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Elburz Mts.
Constantinople
Anisu
Trebizond
Seleucia
Antioch
Scleucia
Thapsacus
Euphrates R.
Canea
RHODES
CYPRUS
Paphos
CRETE
Tadmor
Beirut
Damascus
Bagdad
Babylon
To India
Jaffa
Alexandria
East from Greenwich
30
40
50
60

luxury, and the roads were too insecure to make the transportation of goods profitable. Under the early feudal régime, where downright robbery was not practiced, the lords exacted ruinous tolls at every bridge, market, and highway. It was only after the Crusades had stimulated enterprise and created new tastes that commerce played an important part in mediæval life. The Italian towns, from their central position in the Mediterranean, were the first to feel this quickening impulse; and Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice became important commercial centers. Venice, whose trade was originally confined to salt and fish, the products of its waters, developed a vast commerce in the spices, perfumes, sugar, silks, and other goods which came from the East by way of the Persian Gulf or Red Sea. In the fourteenth century it possessed a merchant marine of three thousand vessels, and each year sent large fleets through the Strait of Gibraltar to Flanders and the English Channel. Land routes led over the Brenner and Julier passes of the Alps to the upper Danube and the Rhine, there joining the Danube route from Constantinople and the Black Sea, and enriching with their trade Augsburg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Nuremberg, and a host of towns on the Rhine. From Genoa a much-traveled route led through France by way of the river Rhone. The great northern market for all this commerce was Bruges, where products of the south and east were exchanged for the furs, amber, fish, and woolen cloths of the north: merchants from seventeen kingdoms had settled homes there, and strangers journeyed thither from all parts of the known world. In the fifteenth century Antwerp wrested from Bruges this preëminence, largely as a result of the untrammeled freedom to trade which it granted.

149. Mediæval commerce

Great fairs, held periodically in certain places, under the license of the king or of some great lord, who profited by the fees paid him, were a necessity in a time when ordinary villages were entirely without shops, and mer-

150. Commercial organization

chants, even in cities and towns, carried only a limited variety and quantity of goods. Examples of such fairs were Smithfield (just outside of London) and Stourbridge in England; Beaucaire and Troyes in France; Frankfort-on-the-Main and Leipzig in Germany. Thither, during the times at which they were held, went merchants and traders from all over Europe; and thither, too, resorted the people for miles around to lay in their yearly stock of necessaries or to sell the products of their industry.

In the Middle Ages merchants traded, not as individuals, or as subjects of a state which protected their interests abroad, but as members (1) of the merchant guild of their town, which often secured special rights and exclusive privileges in other towns and countries; or (2) of some commercial company, like that of the Bardi and later the Medici of Florence; or (3) of some great confederacy of towns like the Hanseatic League of northern Germany.

151. Hanseatic League (1200–1450)

The Hanseatic League gradually arose from the union of German merchants abroad and German towns at home, and was completely formed by the thirteenth century; its objects were common defense, security of traffic by land and sea, settlement of disputes between members, and the acquisition and maintenance of trading privileges in foreign countries. The chief articles of commerce were herring and other salt fish, which were consumed in enormous quantities all over Europe, owing to the rules of the church, which forbade the eating of meat on Fridays and for the forty days during Lent; other articles of trade were timber, pitch, furs, amber, and grain. At its greatest extent, the league included more than ninety cities of the Baltic and North Sea regions, both seaports and inland towns. Lübeck on the Baltic was the capital of the league, where its congresses were held and records kept. Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Danzig, and Wisby (on the island of Gothland) were important members; and warehouses and

trading stations, with extensive privileges, were maintained at Novgorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, Bruges in Flanders, and London in England.

In the fourteenth century the league was drawn into a series of wars with Denmark, and became a great political confederation, with frequent assemblies, a federal tax, and a federal navy and military forces. After 1450 came a period of decay, due to the rise of foreign competition in trade, the revival of Denmark, the consolidation of the power of the German princes, and an unexplained shifting of the herring "schools" from the Baltic to more distant feeding grounds; but its final downfall does not come until the Thirty Years' War, in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to overestimate the part played in northern Europe by this civic league in promoting trade, suppressing piracy and robbery, training the people to orderly life and liberty, and spreading comforts and conveniences in half-barbarous lands.

152. General character of the Middle Ages

Europe of the Middle Ages differed greatly from the Europe of to-day. In many regions there was nothing but forest, swamp, and moor, where now are smiling fields and populous cities. The population on the whole was much less than now: England, which in 1901 had over 30,000,000 inhabitants, had in 1086 only about 2,150,000. The great growth of population, however, has been chiefly in towns and modern manufacturing districts, and not in the open country, which in many places was as thickly settled in the Middle Ages as in modern times.

Local overpopulation was one cause of frequent famines, when weeds and the bark of trees were gnawed for food, and depraved beings ate human flesh. There were no great accumulations of wealth; heavy goods could be transported only short distances by land on account of the miserable roads; and when crops failed, the surplus of distant provinces could not be brought to relieve distress.

The standard of comfort on the whole, even after the introduction of some luxuries from the East, was surprisingly low. The manner of living, even among the higher classes, was filthy and unsanitary. Floors were covered with rushes, among which bones from the table and other refuse were dropped, to be covered with new layers of rushes; and so on, until at length the whole decaying mass would be cleaned out. The death rate, especially among young children, was very high. In spite of all the glamour of chivalry and romance, the Middle Ages, on its material side, must have been a dreary time in which to live.

Intellectually it was a time of ignorance and superstition. Comets were regarded as signs of coming disaster; when one appeared "refulgent, with a hairy crown," it foretold the death of a king, while one with "long locks of hair [*i.e.* a tail], which as it scintillates it spreads abroad," foretold the ruin of a nation. "The invisible world . . . with its mysterious attraction and horrible fascination was ever present and real to every one. Demons were always around him, to smite him with sickness, to ruin his pitiful little cornfield [*i.e.* wheat field] or vineyard, or to lure his soul to perdition; while angels and saints were similarly ready to help him, to listen to his invocations, and to intercede for him at the throne of mercy, which he dared not address directly." It was an age of startling contrasts, when the sordidness of its daily life might be relieved with splendid exhibitions of lofty enthusiasm or darkened with hideous deeds of brutality. On the one hand it was, as Bishop Stubbs says, "the age of chivalry, of ideal heroism, of picturesque castles and glorious churches and pageants, camps, and tournaments, lovely charity and gallant self-sacrifice"; on the other, it was clouded with dark shadows of "dynastic faction, bloody conquest, grievous misgovernance, local tyrannies, plagues and famines unhelped and unaverted, hollowness of pomp, disease, and desolation."

Roger of Hoveden, Chronicle, year 1165

Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages, I. 60

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) In the picture of the chateau of Arques, point out the drawbridges, moat, bailey wall, outer ward, inner ward, and donjon. (2) Was the life of a knight more or less desirable than that of a wealthy man of to-day? (3) Compare the life of the farmer to-day with that of the mediæval peasant. (4) Compare the workingman to-day with the guild artisan. (5) Why did towns desire a charter?

Search topics

(6) The training of a knight. (7) The life of a boy or girl in a mediæval village. (8) The same in a mediæval town. (9) Mediæval system of agriculture. (10) Great fairs of the Middle Ages. (11) The struggles of some town in France, such as Laon, Cambray, or Beauvais, to secure self-government. (12) The craft guilds. (13) The merchant guild. (14) Commerce of Venice in the Middle Ages. (15) The Hanseatic League. (16) Mediæval hunting.

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CHAPTER XII.

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES (449–1377)

With the fall of the mediæval empire, interest shifts to the national states, of which England was one of the first to arise.

153. The Heptarchy (449–802)

Britain, like all the West, formed part of the Roman Empire, and was overrun by Germanic tribes (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) after the year 449: in the course of two centuries they completely conquered the eastern and southern parts of the island, to which was given the name England (Angle-land). The Celtic Britons were killed, enslaved, or driven into the mountains, and the institutions of the German invaders were reproduced with scarcely any mixture of British or Roman elements. Even the Christian religion disappeared, along with the Latin tongue and the Roman-British civilization.

Near the close of the sixth century, Christianity was reintroduced — in the south by missionaries sent direct from Rome (597), and in the north by Celtic (Irish) missionaries from the island of Iona (off the western coast of Scotland). At the synod of Whitby (664), Roman Christianity, with its recognition of the papal headship, triumphed over the loosely organized and semi-independent Celtic Church; and the ecclesiastic unity thus established helped to pave the way for the union of all England under one king.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries there were at least seven different kingdoms of the English; namely, those of the West Saxons, South Saxons, East Saxons, East Anglians (North Folk and South Folk), Mercians (or Middle

ENGLAND
in 878
After the Treaty of Wedmore
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
English Territory
Danish Territory
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
IRELAND
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Tweed R.
Solway Firth
Tees R.
Whitby
ISLE OF MAN
York
Stamford Bridge
Grimsby
Humber R.
ANGLESEY
Scrooby
Lincoln
Chester
Dee R.
Nottingham
Trent R.
The Wash
Derby
Stamford
Leicester
Ely
Evesham
Severn R.
Gloucester
Oxford
Cardiff
Bristol
Ashdown
London
Bristol Channel
Wedmore
Eddington
Merton
Rochester
Canterbury
Taunton
Wilton
Salisbury
Winchester
Senlac Hill
Dover
Southampton
Hastings
ISLE OF WIGHT
NORTHUMBERNICIA
STRATHCLYDE
MERCIA
EAST ANGLIA
WESSEX AND DEPENDENCIES
WEST WALES
KENT
SUSSEX
6 4 2 0 2
4 2 0
50 52 54 56

Angles), Northumbrians, and the men of Kent: the names of most of these peoples are still preserved in the county names of the regions where they ruled (Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, etc.). In the seventh century the kings of Northumbria acquired a vague supremacy over the other kingdoms. In the eighth this passed to the kings of Mercia. At the beginning of the ninth century it was won by Egbert, king of Wessex (802–829), from whom in one line the present sovereign of England traces descent.

154. Invasions of the Danes

In the year 787 "Danes," or Northmen, began to harry England. As on the Continent, they first came merely to plunder; but soon after 850 they began to form settlements. The reign of Alfred the Great (871–901) is the most remarkable in this period of England's history. He came to the throne at a time when the Danes were overrunning all Wessex. "Nine general battles," says a chronicler, "were fought this year (871) south of the Thames." After seven years of struggle Alfred defeated the Danes and forced them to accept the treaty of Wedmore, by which they were baptized as Christians, and received the land north of the Thames; the name "Danelaw" was given to this region because there the Danish, and not the Saxon, law was in force.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 871

Alfred then reorganized his kingdom, remodeled the army, and erected strong earth-walled fortresses. He was fond of learning, and took steps to provide for the education of his people. He himself translated a number of works from the Latin into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and gave orders for the compilation of the great *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

In the latter part of Alfred's reign the war with the Danes began anew. Under his son and his three grandsons, who ruled one after another, the Danelaw was reconquered and again joined with the rest of England; but a large admixture of Danish blood continued in the north of England, leaving

its marks in the place names and in the rude freedom of its inhabitants.

The most prosperous reign of the Anglo-Saxon period was that of Edgar (959–975), who was ably assisted in the government by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, the first of a long line of ecclesiastical statesmen. Over the "shires," or counties, power was exercised by "ealdormen," who corresponded to the counts of the Carolingian empire. There was the same tendency as on the Continent

155. Anglo-Saxon government

KING AND WITAN.
From the Cotton MS.

for the local rulers to acquire independent authority and force the free peasant into serfdom; but the popular assemblies in the shires and "hundreds" (as the division next smaller than the shire was called) kept alive the practice of self-government, and acted as a check on the power of the "thegns," or lords. Over all was the "Witan," or council of wise men; these chose the king, from the royal family, and assisted him in the work of legislation and administration.

The modes of trial in Anglo-Saxon England seem strange to

us, but were common to all Germanic peoples. Compurgation was a usual form; in this, the person accused swore to his innocence and produced a number of compurgators ("oath helpers"), who swore that they believed his oath to be "clean and without guile." In serious cases the ordeal was used; this was an appeal to the judgment of God. In the ordeal by hot iron the accused had to carry a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance in his bare hand; in the ordeal by hot water he had to thrust his hand into a kettle of boiling water. In either case the hand was then bandaged and sealed up for three days; if the wound healed properly, the person was declared innocent. In the cold water ordeal the accused was thrown into a stream of water, with hands and feet tied together; if he floated, he was guilty; but if he sank he was innocent and was to be rescued.

Edgar's son Ethelred—called the "Redeless," or "Unready" (which means "lacking counsel")—ruled from 979 to 1016. He was rash, short-sighted, and weak, and in his reign there was great disorder and suffering. The invasions of the Danes were renewed, and Ethelred bought them off with money payments. At home the Northmen now formed the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; thenceforth the invaders came as armies for the purpose of conquest. The Danish residents in England sympathized with their brethren; the great ealdormen, too, fell to treachery and quarreling among themselves. The result was that Sweyn (Swegen, or Svend), king of Denmark, conquered the whole of England, and Ethelred was obliged, in 1013, to take refuge with his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy. The next year Sweyn died suddenly, and Ethelred was restored, only to die in 1016.

156. Danish conquest and English decay (977–1042)

After a brief struggle, Canute (1016–1035), the son of Sweyn, was accepted as king by all the English people. Already he was king of Denmark, and in 1028 he made himself king of

Norway. In England he ruled as an English king. The great ealdormen, who from this time are known as "earls," were kept in order with a strong hand, and peace and prosperity were enjoyed by English and Danes alike. While on a pilgrimage to Rome, Canute wrote to his English subjects: "I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously my realms and my subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done aught beyond what is just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready with God's help to amend it utterly."

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, year 1031

Canute's sons, Harold and Hardicanute, ruled after him for seven years. Upon the extinction of the Danish line, the Witan chose as king the son of Ethelred, who was called Edward "the Confessor" (1042–1066), on account of his piety. He proved but a feeble ruler. He had been reared at the Norman court, where ways of life were less rude than in England; and the favor which he showed to Normans and Frenchmen angered his English subjects. The chief events of his reign centered in the quarrels of the great earls, who openly rebelled. Godwin, earl of Wessex, was the most powerful of these; after his death his office passed to his son Harold, who proved himself the most capable man of the kingdom. When Edward died without children, in 1066, Harold was chosen king by the Witan; but William, the duke of Normandy, put forth a claim to the throne and prepared an invading army.

157. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066)

William the Conqueror, as he is known in history, was the sixth duke of Normandy in descent from Rolf. He was only seven years of age when his father died on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and the minority of the young duke was one long struggle against his Norman barons. With the aid of the French king, William crushed his enemies (1047), and then built up a military power which made Nor-

158. The Norman Conquest (1066)

mandy one of the strongest governments of Europe. Already Norman adventurers were winning by their swords a kingdom in Sicily and southern Italy (§ 52); and when Duke William looked abroad for a similar field of conquest, he found it in England.

He secured a promise from Edward the Confessor (his father's cousin) that he should succeed to the throne of England; and circumstances enabled him to obtain from Earl

DEATH OF HAROLD.

From the Bayeux Tapestry. Harold is the second figure from the left.

Harold an oath not to dispute his claim. When Harold was chosen king, William protested; and bearing a banner consecrated by the Pope, he landed on the south coast of England in September, 1066. Harold had been called to the north to repel an invasion by the king of Norway, and returned too late to prevent the landing. The earls of the northern counties treacherously refused him aid, and Harold was forced to meet the Normans with only his own troops. The battle took place on the ridge later called Senlac, near the town of Hastings.

The strength of the English consisted in their mailed footmen armed with the battle-ax, while that of the Normans lay in their archers and mounted men-at-arms; two different

modes of warfare were thus contending, as well as two peoples and two civilizations. For a long time the issue was in doubt. To draw the English from their strong position, William ordered a portion of his troops to pretend to flee; this ruse was partly successful, but still the "shield wall" of Harold's guard held firm. At last an arrow struck Harold in the eye, piercing to the brain, and after this disaster the English were forced from the field (October, 1066).

This battle decided the possession of the English crown, and gave England a line of rulers which has lasted to this day.

159. Norman organization (1066–1087) William was formally chosen king, and within a few months was in tranquil possession of the whole kingdom. There were revolts of the native English and also of Norman barons (feudal lords), who rebelled against the iron rule of the Conqueror; but these were put down with terrible cruelty. In the main, the customs and laws of the English were respected, but the property of those who fought against William at Hastings was treated as forfeited, and either granted to new holders or confirmed to the old ones on the payment of a heavy fine.

In either event the tenure established was a feudal one, conditioned on the performance of military service, with all the "feudal incidents" of relief, aids, wardship, and marriage rights. Feudalism as a system (§§ 31–41) was thus introduced fullgrown into England; but William took pains to see that in England it should not become the menace to the crown that it was in France. An oath of allegiance to the king, taking precedence of all ties to feudal lords, was demanded from all freemen (1086), and the old Anglo-Saxon national militia, as well as the old popular assemblies, were continued as a check on the power of the lords or barons. It also happened that the lands granted his Norman followers, however extensive they might be, were widely scattered, and not in compact blocks, as they were in France. Thus it was

made more difficult than in France for a vassal to gather men to make war upon his king.

In order that he might know the resources of the realm, William caused an inquest of the lands, their holders, and their value to be made throughout England, the results being set down in what is known as *Domesday Book*. "So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by." The value to the historian of this minute record, which is still in existence, may easily be imagined. William was a stern and a just king, but he was little loved.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1085

When William died, in the year 1087, primogeniture, or the right of the eldest son to succeed the father, was not an established custom. Robert, his oldest son, secured Normandy, but England passed to William Rufus, the second son. This William II. proved a harsh, wicked man, and was hated by all. After thirteen years of rule his body was found in the New Forest (near Southampton), with an arrow piercing the heart; whether he was slain by accident or by design no man can tell.

160. Norman succession (1087–1154)

William II. left no children, and Henry I. (1100–1135), the third son of the Conqueror, secured the throne. This was fortunate for England, as he was a strong ruler who knew how to keep the turbulent barons in check. To conciliate his subjects, he issued at his coronation a charter of liberties, which became the model for the Great Charter of King John (§ 167). The troubles stirred up by his brother, Robert of Normandy, ended with Robert's defeat and capture (1106). Normandy was then annexed once more to the English crown, with which it remained united for nearly a hundred years. The title "Lion of Justice," given to Henry, marks his activity in the punishment of crime. "He made peace," says the chroni-

A.-S. Chronicle, 1135

cler, "for men and deer; whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good."

The just government established by Henry I. died with him. His nephew, Stephen of Blois (son of the crusader, § 97), who secured the government after him, lacked firmness and good judgment, and the difficulties of his position were increased by the repeated efforts of Henry's daughter, Matilda, to win the crown. Civil war and anarchy followed, and lawless castles filled the land. The nobles "greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at their castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. . . . This state of affairs lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. . . . Then was corn [*i.e.* wheat] dear, and flesh, and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land; — wretched men starved with hunger; some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich; some fled the country. Never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these."

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1137

The struggle for the crown ended with a treaty by which Stephen recognized Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, as his successor. The next year Stephen died, and Henry II., the first of the Angevin or Plantagenet kings, came to the throne. The early kings of this house were Henry II. (1154–1189), Richard I. (1189–1199), John (1199–1216), Henry III. (1216–1272), Edward I. (1272–1307), Edward II. (1307–1327), and Edward III. (1327–1377).

161. Reign of Henry II. (1154–1189)

In right of his father, Henry II. was count of Anjou (in France); in right of his mother, he received Normandy and England; by marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, he

added that broad land to his dominions (map, p. 228). He was a strong king, tireless in the transaction of business, with a genius for organization. The abuses of Stephen's reign were speedily remedied, and peace and good order restored. His attempt to bring the clergy under the jurisdiction of royal courts brought him into conflict with the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket; and hasty words let fall by the king led four of his servants to murder the archbishop. By the people Becket was venerated as a martyr; and to secure absolution from the Pope, Henry was obliged to forego some rights of jurisdiction which he claimed over "criminous clerks."

Miter, Chasuble, and Stole of Thomas à Becket.
Preserved in the Cathedral of Sens, France.

Cross at Monasterbrice, Ireland.
Erected in 9th or 10th century. Part of the carving represents scriptural scenes.

England's conquest of Ireland began in this reign. In metal work, in sculpture, and in the illumination of manuscripts the Irish had attained a degree of culture then unsurpassed; but in political develop-

162. Henry's wars

ment they lagged behind. Ireland was still in the tribal stage, and tribe warred with tribe, chief with chief. In such circumstances it was inevitable that the Norman barons of England should intervene. The complete subjugation of the island was not effected until long afterward; but from this reign the fortunes of Ireland were linked with those of its eastern neighbor.

Henry II.'s possessions in France led him into almost constant warfare with the French king. In 1173 the kings of France and Scotland assisted the barons and the king's oldest son (Henry) to rebel; but the rebellion was put down, and the king of the Scots taken prisoner. News of the fall of Jerusalem, in 1187, led Henry II. to take the cross; but preparations for the crusade were interrupted by a new war with the French king, Philip Augustus, who aided the rebellion of Henry's son, Richard — now through the death of his elder brother the heir to the throne. The English king was defeated and forced to make peace; and at the head of the list of those allied against him, he read the name of his youngest son, John, whom he had supposed faithful. Already sick and worn out, Henry II. died three days later. He was a hard, stern man, with the fierce Angevin temper, and was little loved; but the value of his work can not be overestimated.

The most important feature of Henry II.'s reign was his judicial, military, and financial reforms. The Exchequer, or financial department of the government, was definitely organized. The old English militia was revived by a law called the Assize of Arms, and every man was obliged to provide himself with arms according to his means. The practice was introduced of excusing feudal tenants from military service on payment of a sum called "scutage": the money thus obtained was used to hire mercenary troops, who were better and more reliable soldiers; at the same time the new plan reduced the military strength of the feudal nobles.

163. Henry's reforms

The judicial reforms of Henry II. consisted chiefly in the establishment of itinerant justices and the introduction of trial and presentment juries. The justices itinerant went on circuit, bringing the king's justice into different parts of England; the settlement of many important cases was thus made easier, speedier, and more certain. A form of jury trial was introduced in civil causes to take the place of trial by compurgation and trial by battle. The latter was brought into England about the time of the Norman conquest; in it the plaintiff and defendant fought with arms before the judges, and God was supposed to make manifest the just cause by enabling its champion to triumph.

In trial by jury the decision was given in the name of the community by those who had the best knowledge of the facts, and the result no longer rested upon superstition, accident, or superior force. Centuries passed, however, before jury trial reached the developed form of to-day. Trial by ordeal was used a little longer in criminal cases, but after 1219 trial by jury was introduced here also. Henry II. also made an important improvement in the means provided for the accusation of criminals. It often happened that a man was too powerful for an individual to dare accuse him; to remedy this, the jury of presentment, which later became the grand jury, was introduced to bring an accusation against suspected persons in the name of the community as a whole.

164. Trial by jury

The trial and presentment juries greatly improved the administration of justice; but more important than this was their indirect influence. By participating in the administration of justice, Englishmen were trained in a knowledge of the law and in the exercise of the rights of self-government. Jurors acted not merely in judicial, but in administrative, matters, as representatives of their communities; and when once the principle of representation was fixed in local government, it became easy to introduce it into central affairs. Thus the

juries introduced by Henry II. became, under his successors, the taproot of parliamentary representation.

Richard I., Cœur de Lion (the Lion-Hearted), was a good warrior, but a poor ruler. Most of his reign was devoted to the Third Crusade and to the defense of his Continental possessions; for these purposes, and for his ransom when taken captive while returning from the Holy Land (§ 105), England was oppressively taxed. Only seven months of the ten years of his reign were passed in England; but the administrative officers trained by Henry II. kept the country orderly and peaceful. Richard died of an arrow wound while on a characteristic mission, warring to secure a treasure found by one of his vassals in Aquitaine.

165. Richard I. (1189–1199)

The Great Council of England chose Richard's brother John king after him, in preference to Arthur, the son of an elder brother Geoffrey. John had been an undutiful son and brother; he now proved the worst king that England ever had. His misconduct in Aquitaine led his barons there to appeal to King Philip against him, and when he refused to appear, his French fiefs were declared forfeited. Soon after, John secured possession of his young nephew, Arthur, and basely put him to death. This made it easier for Philip to enforce the sentence of forfeiture; and by the close of 1206 all the English possessions in France were lost, except Aquitaine.

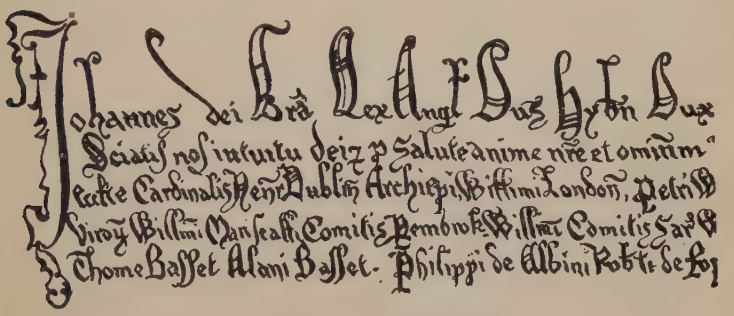
166. John (1199–1216)

John was next involved in a quarrel with Pope Innocent III., and for nearly five years England lay under an interdict, all ordinary church services being prohibited. To prevent his deposition, John at last made his peace with the Pope, agreeing to hold his kingdom as a papal fief and pay an annual tribute. He then hastened to France with such forces as he could raise to regain his lost possessions; but at Bouvines, in 1214, his ally, Otto IV. of Germany, was overwhelmingly defeated (§ 130), and John returned discredited to England. The loss of these Continental possessions was on the whole fortunate for England; it

practically completed the process, which had long been going on, whereby the barons ceased to be Normans and became English.

All classes were aroused by John's misgovernment; and during his absence a meeting was held at which it was agreed to take up arms unless he granted a charter of liberties, similar to that of Henry I. John sought to evade the demand; but the whole nation — nobles, clergy, and townsmen — united in it; and finally, in June, 1215, "in the meadow called Runnymede," on the river Thames, John put

167. The Great Charter (1215)



Portion of Magna Charta.

his signature to the Great Charter (*Magna Charta*). The demands of the barons were no selfish exaction of privileges for themselves; they secured the rights of all. Many of the provisions of the charter were of a temporary nature, remedying immediate grievances, but others were permanent in their importance. Among the latter are the following: —

"No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

Magna Charta, §§ 39, 40

"To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice."

When he signed the Great Charter, John had no intention of abiding by it, and within three months he was again at open

war with his barons. The latter planned to accept the son of the French king as sovereign; but in 1216 John died, leaving a son, Henry III., nine years of age. The Great Charter now received the first of many confirmations, and peace was rapidly restored.

168. Henry III. (1216–1272)

During the first sixteen years of Henry III.'s reign, officers trained in the methods of Henry II. directed affairs, and good order and prosperity followed. For twenty-six years the king was then under the influence of personal favorites, — greedy foreigners for the most part, — or carried on the government without ministers. In either case, misrule was the result; heavy taxes were laid to enrich his favorites and carry on useless wars in France, and clergy and people groaned under the exactions of papal legates. In 1258 the barons rose in rebellion under Earl Simon de Montfort, and brought this state of affairs to an end. The government was then under their control for seven years, until in 1265 the king's eldest son Edward escaped from the captivity in which he was held and raised an army. At Evesham he met and defeated the forces of Earl Simon, the latter being among the slain. Although himself of foreign birth, Montfort was a consistent advocate of English liberty, and did much to favor the growth of Parliament. After 1265 Henry III. was freed from the control of the barons, but only to pass under that of his strong and able son, Edward, till the king's death in 1272.

169. Edward I. (1272–1307)

Edward I. is the first king since the Norman conquest of whom it can be said that he was "every inch an Englishman." He had his father's personal virtues without his vices as a ruler; he was the greatest of the Plantagenet kings. He sought to unite under one rule the whole of the British Isles, and to accomplish this he waged war against the Welsh, until in 1284 that country was annexed to England; soon after arose the usage by which the title "Prince of Wales" is usually borne by the heir to the English throne. Edward

also intervened in Scotland and secured the recognition of his overlordship; disputes, however, followed, and Edward was several times forced to lead an army thither; and after his death Scotland regained its independence (formally admitted in 1328). The chief result of Edward's aggressions was to throw the Scots into alliance with France, and postpone until the eighteenth century the constitutional union of the two British kingdoms.

170. Rise of Parliament

More important than Edward's military exploits were his constitutional measures. Parliament assumed under him the form which it was to bear into modern times. The roots of this institution lay deep in the past: the idea of representation in local affairs was older than the Norman conquest; and under the Normans, especially in the juries of Henry II., it received a wide extension. The first introduction of representatives into the Great Council (the feudalized successor to the Anglo-Saxon Witan, § 155) was in 1213, when "four discreet men" of each county were ordered to be chosen to meet with the barons. In 1265 Simon de Montfort added borough or town representatives. In 1295 Edward summoned the Model Parliament, which contained the barons, together with representatives of counties and towns on a larger scale than before. After this time, elected representatives of the people were regularly summoned, along with the nobles and higher clergy, and the Great Council becomes the English Parliament. In the next century the representatives of towns and counties united to form the House of Commons, while the barons, including the bishops and abbots, formed the House of Lords. Parliament was thus divided into two houses, and its external structure was complete; but the development of its powers was only beginning.

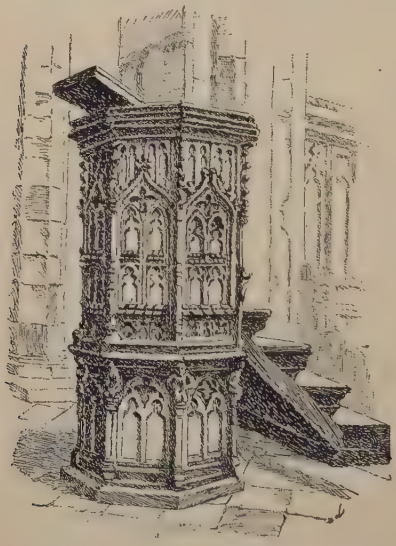
Edward I. was also active in reforming and systematizing the English laws. The thirteenth century was above all things the age of the lawyer and legislator, and in this field Edward's

work may well challenge comparison with that of Frederick II. of Sicily, and Louis IX. and Philip IV. of France.

Edward II. proved an unworthy son of his great father; he was frivolous and unprincipled, and utterly incapable of carrying on the work begun by Edward I. He angered the great barons by the favor which he showed to unfit companions; and after many disturbances he was forced to abdicate (1327), and was then murdered in prison.

Edward III., son of Edward II., showed the energy and capacity of his grandfather. The beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France (ch. xiv.) is the most important event of his reign; but constitutional progress was not arrested. Since the days of Henry III., the English had resented the exactions of the papacy, and the fact that the Popes now resided at Avignon (§ 187), on what was practically French soil, increased the ill feeling. Two great statutes were enacted against the papacy in this reign — the one forbidding papal appointments to ecclesiastical positions in England (Statute of Provisors), and the other preventing appeals to the papal court (Statute of Præmunire).

171. Edward III. (1327–1377)



Wyclif's Pulpit in Lutterworth Church.

About this time John Wyclif, an Oxford professor, successfully attacked the Pope's claim to English tribute based on John's submission, condemned the temporal lordship exercised by the church, and assailed the

doctrine of transubstantiation; with the assistance of others, he also translated the Bible into English, and formed a body of "poor priests" to preach among the people. In 1382 he was condemned for heresy; but circumstances did not permit of further steps being taken against him, and he died peacefully two years later. The importance of Wyclif's teaching outlived his own time and the circumstances which called it forth; he was the greatest of the "reformers before the Reformation," and the movement which he started, both in England and in Bohemia (whither it was transplanted), lasted in some sort down to the days of Luther.

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172. Summary

The conquest of Britain by the Angles and Saxons (449–600) established there a Teutonic people who have retained their Teutonic language and institutions to the present time. The Danish invasions made more marked their Teutonic character; and the Norman conquest (1066), while profoundly affecting English institutions by feudalizing and centralizing them, left almost untouched the Anglo-Saxon system of local self-government, and did not seriously change the nature of the people. Under the Angevin kings (1154–1399), Ireland and Wales were acquired and Normandy lost; in the same period a series of legal, financial, and judicial reforms improved the administration and strengthened the crown, while the rights of the nation were secured in the Great Charter, wrested from King John (1215). A representative Parliament arose (1213–1295) and became a regular part of the government; and the growth of national consciousness gave rise to a movement to restrict papal taxation, appointment, and jurisdiction in England. Long before the reign of Edward III. began, the Normans and English in England had become one people, and when the Hundred Years' War with France came, they were ready to support their king with the enthusiasm of a national spirit.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What other lands suffered from the attacks of the Northmen or Danes at the same time with England? (2) Was the Norman conquest a good or a bad thing for England? (3) To what was due the anarchy under Stephen? (4) Show on an outline map the lands ruled by Henry II.; show also those lost by John. (5) What advantages had trial by jury over the older forms of trial? (6) What issues were involved in the battle of Bouvines? (7) Did Magna Charta grant new rights to Englishmen? (8) How did local self-government prepare the way for Parliament?

Search topics

(9) Character and work of Alfred. (10) William the Conqueror. (11) Reforms of Henry II. (12) Events leading up to Magna Charta. (13) Simon de Montfort. (14) Edward I. (15) Life and teachings of John Wyclif. (16) The rise of Parliament.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE RISE OF FRANCE (987–1337)

When Hugh Capet came to the throne of France, in 987 (§ 51), feudal tendencies had overmastered the monarchy; and what is now France was a bundle of feudal fragments, steadily growing farther apart in language, in law, and in political feeling. It was the work of the Capetian kings to reunite these fragments, to form a strong monarchy, and to impart national enthusiasm. As means with which to work they had extensive private estates in northern France, the support of the church and the towns, and the moral authority which attached to the office of king. The transformation was largely effected through the extension of the royal domain, that is, of those lands which were directly under the control of the crown.

173. Development of the royal power

Under the first four Capetian kings little was accomplished; but beginning with Louis VI. (1108–1137) rapid progress was made. By purchase, marriage, inheritance, and forfeiture, fief after fief was acquired, until at last the royal domain included almost the whole of France. To keep what was gained, the principle of hereditary succession to the crown was established against that of election (§ 51), partly through the practice of electing the son in the father's lifetime as his associate and successor, but more through the fortunate fact that, unlike the German imperial houses, the Capetians for eleven generations (until 1316) never lacked a son to receive the scepter of the father, and that only once was a long regency necessary.

Hugh Capet (987–996), the founder of the new dynasty, was regarded by the barons who made him king as little more than "first among equals," and his reign was occupied almost wholly with the struggle to secure his right to the crown. His son Robert (996–1031) was more of a monk than a warrior or statesman, and left the royal power little stronger than at his accession. Under Henry I. (1031–1060) the domain and the authority of the Capetians were reduced to the lowest point. His son Philip I. (1060–1108) showed active hostility to Normandy, as a result of the Norman conquest of England; and thenceforth French kings sought to separate Normandy from England, and sowed dissensions in the English royal family. In the latter part of Philip's reign he was hampered by a long quarrel with Pope Gregory VII.; nevertheless he began the increase of the royal domain, and prepared the way for greater extensions under his successors.

174. The first four Capetians (987–1108)

Louis VI. (1108–1137) is styled "the Fat," but he was the embodiment of martial energy. His great task was to reduce to order the petty nobles of the royal domain, who were often little better than brigands. The conditions which prevailed in France at this time were similar to those which existed in England under Stephen: every lord of a castle robbed at will, and some tortured with fiendish cruelty those who fell into their hands. Twenty years of hard fighting was necessary before the last of these brigands was crushed; and in order that such evils might not again occur, every fortress taken was destroyed or intrusted to faithful persons.

175. Royal domain reduced to order (1108–1137)

By this policy Louis VI. greatly increased the power of the crown: for the first time, the king became master of the royal domain, and could go from Paris to Orleans (p. 228) without risk of having his passage disputed by the lord of some petty castle. Louis VI. also taught the barons whose fiefs lay outside his domain that "kings have long arms," and at various times asserted his power in Flanders, Aquitaine, and elsewhere.

Louis VII. (1137–1180) finished the task of securing and consolidating the domain, but in other respects the growth of the royal power was retarded in his reign. This was chiefly owing to two causes: (1) his participation in the Second Crusade (§ 102); and (2) the increase of the power of the counts of Anjou.

176. Misfortunes under Louis VII. (1137–1180)

The Second Crusade both directly and indirectly was the cause of much misfortune to France. The king's absence was untimely, because of discord in the kingdom; but fortunately Louis left the government in the charge of Suger, abbot of the monastery of St. Denis near Paris, who was an able man, trained in administration under Louis VI. Suger, until his death in 1152, was the chief minister of the crown: as abbot, he reformed his monastery; as scholar, he wrote the life of Louis VI.; as statesman, in the language of one of his correspondents, he "sustained alone the burden of affairs, maintained the churches in peace, reformed the clergy, protected the kingdom with arms, caused virtue to flourish, and the authority of the laws to rule."

Zeller, Louis VI. et Louis VII., p. 95

Before his accession, Louis VII. had married Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, thereby adding that vast territory to the lands of the crown; but her misconduct on the crusade determined him to procure a divorce, which she also desired. A decree was obtained from a council of the French clergy, declaring the marriage void by reason of relationship within the degrees prohibited by the church. This was followed almost immediately by Eleanor's marriage to young Henry of Anjou (§ 161), and the great Aquitanian inheritance passed into the control of that house which was the deadliest rival of the Capetian kings. From near the mouth of the river Somme to the Pyrenees, the coast was now in the hands of the prince who two years later ascended the English throne as Henry II. Thenceforth the Capetians had to fight the Plantagenets, or to give up all hope of further growth.

177. Philip Augustus (1180–1223)

For more than twenty years Louis VII. struggled with Henry II., but the task of breaking the Angevin power was reserved for his son Philip II. (1180–1223). Unlike his antagonist Richard I. of England, Philip had little of the knight-errant in his character; he was patient and persevering, a master of statecraft and of diplomacy; he knew how to dissimulate, and was unscrupulous in his choice of means. "He was stern," says a contemporary, "toward the nobles who disobeyed him; it pleased him to stir up discord among them, and he loved to use in his service men of lesser rank." The chronicler Rigord gave him the name Augustus, "because he enlarged the boundaries of the state."

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 365

Philip's part in the Third Crusade (§§ 104, 105) was a mere episode of his reign; his heart was not in the work, and as soon as the sense of obligation would permit, he returned to France. The chief principle of his policy was to stir up dissensions in the English royal family and separate the Continental possessions of that house from the island kingdom. During the first twenty years of his reign, the ability of Richard the Lion-Hearted, and a conflict with the papacy caused by Philip's attempt to divorce his first wife, prevented him from accomplishing much. The weakness and wickedness of King John, however, gave him his opportunity. In 1202 the English fiefs were declared forfeited (§ 166), and castle after castle was taken, including the famous Chateau Gaillard built by Richard to guard the Seine. All the English fiefs except Aquitaine passed into Philip's hands, and the battle of Bouvines (1214) secured him in possession. A vast domain, with an extensive seaboard, thus came into the hands of the French king, lifting him far above the level of his greatest vassals.

The development of the French towns, which was sketched in a preceding chapter (§ 145), went on at a rapid rate

under Philip Augustus. His father and grandfather, Louis VII. and Louis VI., were half hostile to the rising power of the communes; but Philip welcomed the towns as a useful ally against the feudal nobles. Communal independence, however, was not part of his plan; if with one hand he granted charters of liberties, with the other he extended the royal supremacy.

178. Development of towns

Paris, as the chief place of the royal domain, received a special treatment. In the time of Julius Cæsar, Paris was a little cluster of huts on a marshy island of the river Seine; during the five hundred years of Roman rule it grew to be a provincial capital; by making it his ordinary place of residence, Philip Augustus caused it to become the first national capital of a modern state. His fostering care increased its area, erected new walls, inclosing territory on both banks of the river, paved its streets to do away with their ill-smelling and unsanitary mudholes, and completed the erection of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, one of the noblest examples of Gothic architecture.

Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris.

In the reign of Philip Augustus was begun a movement to stamp out heresy in the south of France, which had important results for civilization, for the church, and for the royal power. Many heretical sects had sprung up in the

179. Heretical sects

eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some, like the Waldenses, founded by Peter Waldo of Lyons (about 1178), emphasized the need of a return to the simple life and worship of the Apostles. Others, like the *Cathari* (Manicheans), whose Christianity was tinged with Persian doctrines, believed in two coequal Gods, — one good, the other evil, — declared the material universe to be the creation of the evil deity, and rejected the existing order in church and state; the "perfect" members of the sect rejected marriage, and were frankly opposed to the whole social organization. The *Cathari* were most numerous in southern France, where they were known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, near Toulouse.

Southern France, or Languedoc, at this time was so different from northern France in language, customs, and culture as almost to constitute a separate nation. There flourished the troubadours, the authors of the earliest poetical literature in the popular tongues; there, too, were to be found culture, luxury, and toleration such as few other European lands could boast. The ardent nature of the people led many to adopt with zeal the teachings of the Albigenses, and soon all classes were infected. Their enemies charged them with immoral practices, but the charges seem largely unfounded.

180. Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229)

Pope Innocent III. declared the doctrines of the heretics to be ruinous to the church and subversive of society; and after two peaceful missionary efforts had failed, and a papal legate had been murdered by a knight of Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, the Pope issued a call for an armed crusade. Philip Augustus, pleading his preoccupation with "two great and terrible lions," John of England and Otto IV. of Germany, refused to take part; but a host of lesser lords from the north, among whom Simon de Montfort, father of the English earl (§ 168), was preëminent, gathered at the Pope's call. The chief direction of the crusade was given to the papal legate Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux.

The war was waged with frightful cruelty; "according to his own admission Arnold raged furiously, without sparing rank, sex, or age, with murder, pillage, and fire in Christ's name." In part this cruelty is explained by the violent excesses of the Albigenses, who had waylaid and slain priests, and driven bishops and abbots from their benefices; but fanaticism and lust of lands and booty helped on the movement. Twice the count of Toulouse made abject submission, and twice he again took up arms. In 1226, Louis VIII., who had ascended the throne three years before, led a great expedition against Toulouse; but on the way back he died of fever.

Moeller, History of the Christian Church, II. 399

All parties were now tired of the struggle; and in 1229 a treaty was arranged between the French king, Louis IX., and the new count of Toulouse, son of the original count. Heresy was to be put down, and the count was to do penance for his support of the heretics; part of his estates were to pass at once to the king, and the remainder to go at the death of the count to the king's brother Alphonse, who was to marry the count's daughter. As it turned out, Alphonse left no heirs, and in 1271 these estates also passed into the royal domain. By these wars the domain of the crown was much increased, and the royal power given a firmer footing in the south; for southern France itself, the result was a decay of its peculiar civilization and the extinction of the troubadour poets.

The complete rooting out of heresy in southern France took time and was accomplished largely by new agencies — the Mendicant Orders and the Inquisition. The older orders of monks sought to shut out the world, and gave themselves up to prayer and meditation; the new mendicant orders were to live and labor in the world, seeking preferably the poorest quarters of the towns. The Dominicans, or Preaching Friars (also called Black Friars), were founded by Saint Dominic (died 1221), a Spaniard of noble family; the

181. The mendicant orders

Franciscans, or Friars Minor (called Gray Friars), were founded by Saint Francis, an Italian of mystical temperament.

Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages, I. 260

"No human creature since Christ," says a modern Protestant writer, "has more fully incarnated the ideal of Christianity than Francis. Amid the extravagance, amounting at times almost to insanity, of his asceticism, there shines forth the Christian love and humility with which he devoted himself to the wretched and neglected — the outcasts for whom, in that rude time, there were few indeed to care." Both orders, after some hesitation, were authorized by the papacy, and became its stanch supporters. The Dominicans applied themselves especially to preaching and teaching, while the Franciscans turned rather to care for the poor and sick.

At first the friars were enthusiastically welcomed. "They went out two by two," says a contemporary; "they took neither wallet, nor money, nor bread, nor shoes, for they were not permitted to possess anything. They had neither monastery, nor church, nor lands, nor beasts. They made use of neither fur nor linen, but wore only tunics of wool, terminating in a hood, without capes or mantles or any other garment. If they were invited to eat, they ate what they found; if they were given anything, they kept none of it for the morrow. Once or twice a year they gathered together for their general chapter, after which their superior sent them, two together or more, into the different provinces. . . . They were so increased in a little time that there was no province in Christendom where they had not their brethren."

Jacques de Vitry, in Zeller (Philippe Auguste), 80

When open resistance ceased on the part of the heretics, it became increasingly difficult to root them out; the bishops' courts proved insufficient for the task, and gradually another means was devised. This was the Inquisition, composed of persons especially commissioned to track down and punish heretics, and unhampered by other cares or by responsibility to any authority save Rome. From

182. Founding of the Inquisition (about 1233)

an early day this work was largely turned over to the Dominicans. The procedure of the Inquisition was of a kind to tempt those blinded by passion and self-seeking to bring accusations on slight pretexts; and so close was the connection between its branches, and so complete its records, that neither time nor flight could insure immunity. Names of accusers and of witnesses were concealed, and torture (adopted from the secular courts) was freely used to elicit confessions. The Inquisition stamped out the last embers of the Albigensian heresy, but it left a legacy of tyranny and oppression from which the world was long in escaping.

183. Louis IX. (1226–1270)

Louis IX., son of Louis VIII., grew up to be the possessor of virtues which won for him the title of "Saint," and of abilities which insured the steady growth of the royal power; he had all the good qualities of his age and few of its bad ones. Until he attained the age of twenty-one (in 1236) the government was carried on by his mother, Blanche of Castile, a high-minded, ambitious, capable, and pious woman from whom Louis derived his best qualities. The nobles resented her rule because she was a woman and a foreigner; and they thought the occasion favorable to regain lost territories and privileges. Coalitions were formed and war begun, with the aid of England; but the courage and ability of Blanche were more than a match for her enemies. It is not too much to say that she saved the monarchy; and until her death, in 1262, she exercised a powerful influence on the French government.

COFFER OF THE TIME OF SAINT LOUIS, PRESENTED BY HIS GRANDSON TO AN ABBEY.

Covered with painted designs of royal insignia and allegorical subjects. In the Louvre, Paris.

The history of Louis's personal reign deals principally with his relations with England, his administrative reforms, and his two crusades. His wars with England ended, in 1258, with a treaty by which he restored some lands in return for a formal renunciation by Henry III. of all right to the territories confiscated by Philip Augustus. The high estimation in which Louis was held, even by his enemies, is seen in the fact that six years later he was chosen arbitrator between Henry and his rebellious subjects.

Saint Louis's Capture of Damietta, in Egypt (1249).
From an old print.

The administrative reforms and legislation of Saint Louis were very important. He reformed the judiciary and abolished the right of private warfare; he also took steps which led to the separation of the central government into three branches: (1) the Council, for political affairs; (2) the Exchequer, for finance; and (3) the Parlement of Paris, for judicial business.

While insisting fully upon his rights as king, he nevertheless showed respect for the just rights and privileges of the feudal nobles.

Soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, Louis IX. "took the cross," and was absent from France in Egypt and Palestine for six years (§ 111). So far as any practical end was concerned, his crusade was a failure; but Louis won wide renown for his courage and devotion. In 1270 he led another crusade, which was directed to Tunis because Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily (§ 136), had claims against the Mohammedan lord of that land. Soon after he landed, pestilence broke out in the camp, and to it King Louis himself fell a victim.

Philip III., who succeeded his father, was a well-meaning king, without discernment; but he was ruled by councilors trained under Louis IX., and the work of uniting the realm and centralizing the government was not interrupted. Charles of Anjou proved the evil genius of his nephew Philip, as he had of Louis IX. In 1282 Charles's misgovernment of his kingdom of Naples and Sicily caused a rising known as the "Sicilian Vespers"; with the assistance of the king of Aragon, the rebels established their independence, and for a century and a half Sicily was separated from Naples. War between France and Aragon followed, and Pope Martin IV. (a Frenchman) gave to it the character of a crusade. With a large army, Philip III. crossed the Pyrenees to avenge his uncle's injuries; he accomplished little, and on his return died of the plague at Toulouse. The turbulent career of Charles of Anjou came to an end a few months earlier.

184. Philip III. (1270–1285)

Under Philip the Fair, as contemporaries called the son of Philip III., wars were waged with Aragon, England, and Flanders, but with no great results. Flanders, though a fief of the French crown, was so prosperous through its rich agriculture, and the woolen manufactures and trade of

185. Philip IV. (1285–1314)

its cities, as to make its count a semi-independent prince. His alliance with the English led Philip IV. to attempt to annex Flanders, but in the battle of Courtrai (1302) the French knights were routed by the Flemish tradesmen. This was the first of a long series of battles which taught Europe that foot soldiers, if properly armed and handled, were more than a match for mounted men-at-arms. The only important additions which Philip IV. made to the royal domain were the city of Lyons, on the river Rhone, and the county of Champagne, east of Paris — both made by peaceable methods.

Philip IV. kept the administration in the hands of men of humble origin, trained in the doctrines of the Roman law; and their zeal and loyalty were a constant support. In 1302 he called the first Estates-General of France — an assembly corresponding to the Parliament of England. Its history differs from that of the English Parliament in that the three "estates" (the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, or Third Estate) remained distinct; class and local interests, therefore, controlled its action, and it never attained the regularity of session and the extensive powers which gave the English Parliament its great strength.

Of more importance than Philip's wars was his struggle with Pope Boniface VIII. The question really at issue was whether the papacy should rule over European states in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. Gregory VII., Innocent III., and now Boniface VIII., advanced claims which would have made kings and Emperors mere vassals and dependents of the papacy; and the papal triumph over the house of Frederick II. (§ 136) seemed firmly to establish these principles. But in France, as also in England, a national sentiment was arising which enabled the king to maintain his independence. In both countries the quarrel arose over a bull issued by Boniface, called from its opening words *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the payment of taxes by the clergy to

186. Contest with Pope Boniface VIII. (1296-1303)

the laity. In England, Edward I. brought the clergy to terms by withdrawing from them the protection of the law, the administration of which they refused to support. In France, Philip answered the Pope's bull by cutting off contributions from the French church to the papacy. In the course of the struggle with Philip, Boniface issued the bull called *Unam Sanctam*, in which the papal claims to temporal power were stated in their most explicit form. "There are two swords," argued Boniface, quoting St. Luke (xx. 38), "the spiritual and the temporal; our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the church: the one the spiritual, to be used *by* the church, the other the material, *for* the church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. . . . The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. . . . If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert, with the heretical Manicheans, two coequal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

Milman, Latin Christianity, VI. 326

After the issuing of this bull, preparations were made to excommunicate and depose Philip. To prevent this, agents of the French king, acting with the Pope's Italian enemies, seized him at Anagni in Italy, and subjected him to great indignities. Boniface was now eighty-six years old, and the shock was such that he died within a few weeks (1303). He was the last of the great mediæval Popes.

187. Anagni and Avignon

The affair at Anagni is the counterpart to the humiliation of Henry IV. at Canossa; the papacy triumphed over the empire, only to have its own power shattered by the resistance of the new national monarchies. For three quarters of a cen-

tury France now controlled the papacy as the Emperors had once done. On the ground that Rome was unsafe, the seat of the Pope was fixed at Avignon, on the borders of France (1305); thus began the period called the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church, which lasted until 1377.

PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON.

Built 1336–1364. One of the best specimens of mediæval military architecture in existence.

The death of Philip IV., in 1314, was followed by the reign, in rapid succession, of his three sons — Louis X. (1314–1316), Philip V. (1316–1322), and Charles IV. (1322–1328). The chief interest of these reigns lies in the question of the succession to the throne. Louis X. was the first Capetian king to die without a son to succeed him, and the question arose for the first time whether a woman could reign in France. An assembly of the nobles and clergy decided against Louis's daughter and in favor of his brother Philip; thus a new rule was established, in accordance with which no queen has ever held sway over France in her own right.

188. Succession to the throne (1314–1328)

When Charles IV., the last of the Capetians in the direct line, died (in 1328) without a son, this rule received a further extension. The councilors of young Edward III. of England claimed the throne for him as the nearest male heir, through his mother, who was a daughter of Philip IV. A French assembly decided, however, that not only was a woman herself debarred from the succession, but she could transmit no claim to her son. This is the principle to which the name "Salic law" was afterward given, on the supposition that it was based on a provision of the old law of the Salian Franks. In reality it was based on the unwillingness of the French nobles to receive a foreigner as king, and at the time nothing was said of the Salic law.

The choice of the nobles fell upon Philip of Valois, the representative of the nearest male line of the Capetian house. Under the name of Philip VI. he was received by France, and in 1329, and again in 1331, Edward III. acknowledged him as his lord for the fief of Guienne, or Aquitaine. Other causes, however, soon led to war between England and France, and then the claim of Edward III. to the French throne became a factor in the contest which we call the Hundred Years' War.

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189. Summary

From Louis VI. to Philip IV. there was a steady progress in territorial unity and governmental efficiency. Philip IV. gave to the government the general form which it has continued to bear in spite of subsequent revolutions; France ceased to be a mere feudal monarchy and became a modern state, with power centering in the crown. A comparison of the development of France with that of Germany and England is instructive. In Germany the disintegrating tendencies of feudalism prevailed, a minute territorial division resulted, and the Emperor was despoiled of all power, without profit to the people. In England, the struggle between the feudal nobles and the crown produced a constitutional mon-

archy under which popular rights and liberties rapidly developed. In France the powers of the crown grew at the expense of the feudal nobles, but without gain to the people save through greater security and better government.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen house, France becomes the most important country of Europe, the part which the Emperors formerly played in Italy being now taken by the French kings. The intellectual and artistic influence of France was also great. "Her intellect," says the eminent historian Lavisse, "gave expression to the whole civilization of that period — religious, feudal, and knightly. The French wrote heroic poems, built castles and cathedrals, and interpreted the texts of Aristotle and the Scriptures. Their songs, buildings, and scholastic philosophy verged upon perfection. Already independent, already mobile and sprightly, the French mind freed itself from tradition and authority. It produced the aërial grace of Gothic art. . . Christian Europe copied French cathedrals, recited French heroic and humorous songs, and thus learned the French language. . . . Almost all the universities of Europe were like swarms of bees from the hive of Mount St. Genevieve [University of Paris]. A proverb said that the world was ruled by three powers, — the Papacy, the Empire, and Learning; the first residing in Rome, the second in Germany, the third in Paris."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why should the acquisition of England by the Norman dukes change their relations to the French kings? (2) What does the length of the struggle to reduce the domain to order show concerning the power of the crown at this time? (3) What historical influences would account for the higher civilization of southern France? (4) Was the church responsible for the cruelty which accompanied the Albigensian crusade, or was it due to the character of the times? (5) Were the persons who took part in that movement more animated by religion or by desire for gain? (6) Why should the friars be more successful in combating heresy

than the parish priests? than the monks? (7) How had Charles of Anjou come into possession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily? (8) What fundamental difference was there between the French Parlement and the English Parliament? (9) Why should the lawyers prove more loyal servants of the crown than counselors drawn from the nobles and clergy? (10) What preliminary training of the English helped make their Parliament more effective than the French Estates-General? (11) Distinguish priests, monks, and friars. (12) What was Aquitaine? (13) What was Flanders?

Search topics

(14) Character and work of Louis VI. (15) Philip Augustus and the Third Crusade. (16) Increase of the royal power under Philip Augustus. (17) The Waldenses. (18) The Albigenses. (19) The troubadours. (20) Saint Dominic. (21) Saint Francis of Assisi. (22) Louis IX. (23) Contest of Philip IV. and Pope Boniface VIII. (24) Popular feeling toward the friars. (25) Early descriptions of Paris. (26) Nature and authority of a papal bull.

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ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE, 1180-1429

AFTER 1453 ENGLAND RETAINED ONLY CALAIS, AS ON P. 284

L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337–1453)

MANY causes combined to produce the succession of conflicts between England and France which we call the Hundred Years' War. The conquests of Philip Augustus left a hostility which lingered in spite of the treaty of 1258 (§ 183); and the rejection of the claims of Edward III. to the French throne increased the tension. There was also friction over the English possession of Guienne; and in Scotland the French aided the young king, David Bruce, while the English supported a rival claimant.

190. Origin of the war

The final breach resulted from troubles in Flanders, which was a French fief, but depended for the prosperity of its towns on the manufacture of cloth made from English wool. In 1336 the French king, Philip VI. (1328–1350), recklessly caused the arrest of all Englishmen there; and in retaliation Edward III. seized Flemish merchants in his kingdom, and forbade the exportation of English wool. The Flemish burghers thereupon rebelled and formed an alliance with England to secure their accustomed supplies of wool; and to satisfy their scruples against warring upon their king, Edward III. took the title of king of France — a title which his successors did not finally abandon until the time of George III. Previous wars between England and France had been feudal struggles between their kings, the people taking little part: French interference with English interests in Flanders now aroused the English Parliament to enthusiastic support of the war, and

Edward's claim to the throne of France made it a life-and-death struggle for the French monarchy.

The operations of the first few years were carried on by Edward III. in the neighborhood of Flanders, and were without appreciable results. In 1340, however, he was met off Sluys, while crossing the Channel, by a fleet of French and Genoese vessels, which were chained together in order to present a more solid front. Then began "a sore battle on both parts; archers and crossbows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together." The battle lasted from morning until noon, and ended in complete victory for the English. Thenceforth, for a generation, the English were masters of the seas, and could land their expeditions where they wished.

191. Opening of the war (1337-1346)

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 50

Genoese Crossbowman.

In 1346 occurred the first pitched battle of the war. An expedition under the English king landed in Normandy and advanced up the valley of the Seine until the flames of the villages fired by the English could be seen from the walls of Paris. Without attempting to attack the capital, Edward turned northward to join his forces with those of the Flemings, while an enormous French army under Philip followed him. Edward crossed the river Somme by means of a ford at the river mouth revealed by a peasant, and took up a position near the village of Crécy, from which the subsequent battle takes its name.

The English, who consisted chiefly of infantry armed with

the longbow, — the excellence of which had been demonstrated in the wars of Edward I. against the Welsh and Scots, — were stationed in three divisions on the slope of a little hill. The French force outnumbered the English five to one, and consisted chiefly of mounted men-at-arms, with a body of hired Genoese crossbowmen. The latter were first sent forward to the attack. They were tired with a long day's march, and their crossbow strings were slacked with a wetting received in a passing thundershower. They were no match for the English longbowmen; and when the shafts of the English began to fall "so thick that it seemed as if it snowed," the Genoese broke and fled. At this Philip in passion called out, "Slay these rascals, for they trouble us without reason." "And ever still," says Froissart, "the Englishmen shot wherever they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses; and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not arise again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another."

192. Battle of Crécy (1346)

ENGLISH LONGBOWMAN.

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 130

A portion of the French finally managed to reach the English knights under the Black Prince, son of Edward III., who were on foot in the rear of the archers. In haste messengers were sent to inform the king, who with the reserve coolly watched the battle from a windmill at the top of the hill. "Return to them that sent you," said Edward, "and say to them that they send no more to me as long as my son is alive. And also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 130

this day be his and the honor thereof." On the French side there fell the blind old king of Bohemia, who chivalrously caused his horse to be led into the fight that he "might strike one stroke" with his sword in the cause of his ally.

At nightfall the English lines were still unbroken, while the French were in hopeless confusion. Philip fled wounded from the field, leaving behind him among the slain eleven princes of France and thousands of lesser rank. The English loss was inconsiderable. The victory was due chiefly to the English archers and the tactical skill of King Edward. Even if cannon of a small, crude sort were not (as some writers claim) used at Crécy, the battle nevertheless foretold, equally with that of Courtrai (§ 185), a new era in warfare. "It was a combat of infantry against cavalry, of missile weapons against heavy armor and lances, of trained professional soldiers against a combination of foreign mercenaries with disorderly feudal levies. And the inevitable result was made the more decisive by the utter want of generalship on the part of the French king."

193. Effect of Crécy (1346)

Lodge, Close of the Middle Ages, 96

After the battle, Edward continued his retreat unmolested, and laid siege to the city of Calais. In spite of a heroic resistance the town was at last obliged to surrender. Although Edward did not, as he at first threatened, put to death the leading townsmen, the whole population was expelled and their places taken by English settlers. For two hundred years, thenceforth, Calais was an English town, an outpost of England's power and trade; and its possession, with that of Dover on the other side the Channel, went far to confirm the claim of the English king to be "lord of the narrow seas."

After the fall of Calais, a truce was arranged which lasted for several years. In this interval the exhaustion caused by the war was aggravated by a terrible pestilence, called the "Black Death," which resembled the bubonic plague of to-day. Arising in Asia, it reached Europe by way of

194. The Black Death (1347-1351)

Egypt and Syria, appearing in Sicily, Tuscany, and Provence in 1347. During the winter months its progress was checked; but the next summer it resumed its march, spreading "from city to city, from village to village, from house to house, from man to man." Germany and England experienced its ravages in 1349 and 1350; Norway and Russia in 1351.

Everywhere the mortality was frightful; in some of the provinces of France, two thirds of the population perished; during the four years that this plague lasted, at least a third of the inhabitants of Europe were carried off. The unsanitary arrangements of the Middle Ages — the complete lack of sewerage systems, the accumulations of filth and decaying matter in streets and houses, and the pollution of water supplies — sufficiently explain the widespread and great mortality. Where conditions were better, as among the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, the mortality was less. The Black Death was only the most terrible of many plagues which devastated Europe in the Middle Ages, the recurrence of which gradually ceased with advance in cleanliness and sanitary science.

195. Effects of the Black Death

The direct and indirect effects of the Black Death were very great. In Germany an hysterical religious outbreak occurred, and companies of penitents called Flagellants journeyed from place to place, seeking to appease the wrath of God by mutual scourgings. In England the decline in the number of laborers gradually produced an abandonment of the old manorial system of agriculture; more and more the lands were let out to tenant farmers paying money rent instead of services, or else they were put into pasture for sheep. Villenage declined, especially after a rising of the peasants in 1381, under Wat Tyler; and a system of free labor gradually took its place. To meet conditions produced by these changes, the government was obliged more and more to undertake, through parliamentary statutes, the regulation of trade and industry; thus the functions of the state were enlarged, and

thereby the change from mediæval to modern usages and ideas was hastened.

In France the influence of the Black Death was complicated by the devastation wrought by war and misgovernment.

196. Desolation of France

The condition of the people in the second half of the century became pitiable in the extreme. On the reduced population the heavy taxes for the English war fell with redoubled force. The peasants had to contribute to pay ransoms for the deliverance of their lords from captivity, and for the redemption of their own goods from destruction. They were forced by both sides to labor without pay in carrying supplies, and at siege operations. Often they were tortured to extort money and provisions, when they themselves lacked bread for their families. To escape such evils, peasants fled in large numbers to the depths of the forests, only to die of famine and the attacks of wolves. Many parishes were completely depopulated. Through the joint operation of the plague and the war, the rude prosperity which characterized the French people at the beginning of the century was brought to an end, and seeds of weakness were sown from which the land was slow to recover.

Philip VI. died in 1350, before the renewal of the war. His son John (1350–1364) was a good knight, but without capacity for government or generalship.

197. Battle of Poitiers (1356)

In 1355 the war was renewed by an expedition of the Black Prince into southern France. The next year the prince started to march northward into Normandy ; but near Poitiers he was confronted by an army many times larger than his own. So hopeless seemed the odds, that he offered (but in vain) to surrender his spoil and his prisoners, and to bind himself not to fight again for seven years, as the price of a free retreat.

As at Crécy, the English force consisted principally of archers, while the French were mostly mounted and armored knights. The English were stationed on a little plateau pro-

tected by a hedge and by rough and marshy ground. King John was persuaded that the strength of the English at Crécy had been due, not to their archers, but to the fact that their men-at-arms were dismounted; accordingly, he ordered his knights to advance on foot, thus throwing away his chief advantage. The first and second divisions of his army failed to come within striking distance of the enemy; and upon their retiring, the third division, commanded by the king himself, was left to bear the whole weight of the English counter-attack. "There was a sore fight," says Froissart, "and many a great stroke given and received. . . . King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms; he had an ax in his hands wherewith he defended himself and fought in the breaking of the press." Refusing to flee, he and his youngest son were taken captives by the English.

Froissart, Chronicles, chs. 162–164

The whole number of prisoners was twice that of their English captors. "That day," says Froissart, "whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his, and might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were all made rich with honor and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that were there found." After the battle the Black Prince entertained the captive king, waiting upon him in person at table. But for all this chivalrous display, the English shrewdly extracted full advantage from the victory; and pending the acceptance of their terms, King John was carried prisoner to London, where for four years he was detained in honorable captivity.

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 166

198. Internal disorders in France (1356–1360)

France meanwhile was in a deplorable condition. The government was carried on by the king's eldest son, Charles — the first of the heirs-apparent of France to bear the title of Dauphin, derived from the Dauphiné just east of the river Rhone, which was annexed to France in 1349. Charles was an untried youth, and demoralization per-

vaded every branch of the government. The difficulties of his position made necessary the frequent assembling of the Estates-General, and the death and captivity of so many of the nobles threw the preponderance in these sessions into the hands of the Third Estate, or representatives of the towns. Their leader was Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchant guild of Paris; and their demands embraced a complete reform of the government, including a reduction of the privileges of the nobles and a commission of administration appointed by the Estates. When the Dauphin restored some dispossessed officials, Marcel gathered a mob and slew them in the Dauphin's presence. This was too much for moderate men; a reaction followed, and when the Dauphin brought troops to reduce his rebellious capital, Paris stood almost alone.

FRENCH NOBLE, 14TH CENTURY.

At this time (1358) there was added to the other miseries of France a great rising of the peasants, called the Jacquerie from their nickname of "Jacques Bonhomme." The peasants had suffered most from the war and the pestilence; and to their dull minds the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers were explainable only on the theory that the nobles had betrayed France. The movement was confined to a few provinces in northern France, but it was characterized by the utmost ferocity; the peasants seemed turned by their sufferings into wild beasts, and the nobles retaliated in like manner. The revolt was soon put down, and the lot of the peasant, who was now dreaded as well as despised, became worse than before.

Marcel's policy became steadily more narrowly selfish. He tried to ally Paris with the revolted peasants; then he plotted

to put the city into the hands of Charles the Bad of Navarre, who claimed the throne against both King John and Edward III. While opening the gates to admit Charles, Marcel was assassinated (July, 1358), and the Dauphin's authority over the city was restored. In spite of his mistakes and failures, Marcel is memorable as "the leader of the most notable attempt, before 1789, to give to France a constitutional form of government."

A treaty with England was at last concluded at Bretigny in 1360. King John agreed to pay a large money ransom, and Edward III. agreed to abandon his claims to the French crown in return for the confirmation in full sovereignty of his possession of Calais, Ponthieu, and Aquitaine. All questions seemed settled and the war ended by this treaty. Four years later King John died at London, whither he had returned on a visit of mingled business and pleasure.

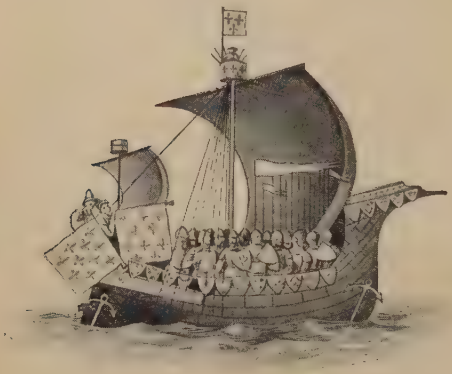
199. Treaty of Bretigny (1360)

The new king, Charles V. (1364–1380), had as Dauphin gained in experience; as king he is known as Charles "the Wise," and was one of the ablest rulers of France in the Middle Ages. He was no knight-errant, but a shrewd, practical statesman, who knew how to select good generals, and fought no useless battles. During the first five years of his reign, peace was kept with England, the abuses of government were remedied, and the country was rid of the "free companies" of mercenaries, who in spite of the peace preyed upon the inhabitants.

200. Charles V. and Du Guesclin (1364–1380)

After France had thus been strengthened, a pretext was found for reasserting suzerainty over Aquitaine, and in 1369 war with England began once more. Every advantage now was on the side of France. England was tired of the war, Edward III. was old and enfeebled (he died in 1377), and the Black Prince was burdened with a disease which carried him off the year before his father. The command of the sea was with the French, thanks to the fleet of the king of Castile, whom Charles aided against a rival supported by the English.

Finally, the French now had a first-class general in Bertrand du Guesclin, a low-born Breton who cast aside the old knightly traditions of warfare, used professional soldiers instead of the disorderly feudal levies, and carried on a cautious campaign of rapid maneuvers, stratagems, and ambuscades. As a result, place after place fell into French hands; and in 1375, when a truce was made, Calais in the north and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south were the only important places left to the English.



French Ship, 14th Century.

This, however, proved the limit of Charles's success. In 1380 both he and his general, Du Guesclin, died. His heir, Charles VI. (1380–1422), was a sickly boy, who became insane soon after attaining manhood. The regency during his minority was in the hands of his uncles, of whom the leading spirit was the Duke of Burgundy. The new nobles of the royal house proved as selfishly feudal and as opposed to the interest of the monarchy as were the old nobility; France groaned under their oppressions, and ineffectual rebellions of the cities broke out. Fortunately for France, England also experienced the evils of a regency and internal dissensions under the son of the Black Prince, Richard II. (1377–1399); and the war languished, with long intervals of truce, until 1414.

201. Lull in the war (1380–1414)

Civil war meanwhile broke out among the French princes, to lend a deeper shade of horror to events. The rivals for control during the insanity of the king were the king's cousin,

John of Burgundy (who from his mother inherited Flanders and Artois), and the king's younger brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans. In 1407 this contest reached a climax when the taciturn and surly Burgundy caused the murder of his opponent. For a time the adherents of Orleans accepted a reconciliation; but in 1411 all restraint was thrown off, and civil war began. From the principal leader of their party the Orleanists were called Armagnacs, their opponents being Burgundians. In these struggles no quarter was given, and both parties devastated the country. The people were crushed with taxes, while the princes indulged in wild extravagance; the result was a rising of the Parisian mob (called "Cabochiens," from one of its leaders), whose brutal excesses disgraced the sober reform movement which they accompanied. Both Armagnacs and Burgundians sought aid from England, where Richard II. had been deposed, and Henry IV. (1399–1413), of the Lancastrian house, had acquired the crown. Upon the death of Henry IV., his son, the English national hero Henry V. (1413–1422) became king; and to quiet dynastic struggles he revived the claims of Edward III. to the French throne.

202. Burgundians and Armagnacs (1407–1415)

In 1415 Henry V. led an army into Normandy, whence, after some successes, he marched northward toward Calais. At Agincourt, near Crécy, his way was blocked by a great French army composed mainly of Armagnacs, who at that moment were in control of the government. The French seem to have profited neither by the disasters of King John nor the successes of Charles V. and Du Guesclin. Again their forces were chiefly dismounted knights, weighted with their heavy armor, and packed so closely in the narrow defile that they scarcely had room to wield their swords; to make matters worse, the field was newly harrowed and ankle-deep with mud. Well might King Henry say, the night before the battle, that he "wished not for a single man more" to share

203. Battle of Agincourt (1415)

the glory! A third English victory, equal to those won at Crécy and Poitiers, was the result.

Instead of uniting French parties, the disaster of Agincourt served only to make the feuds of the princes more bitter.

204. Confusion in France (1415–1429) In 1419 a conference took place between the Dauphin Charles, now head of the Armagnac party, and John of Burgundy, at which the latter was treacherously slain by the Orleanists. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, put himself unreservedly on the English side. In 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes by which the shameless French queen, Isabella, disinherited her son the Dauphin, and married her daughter Catherine to Henry V. of England, with provision that the latter should rule France and become its king after the death of her husband, Charles VI.

Against this treaty the Dauphin protested. Southern France remained loyal to him, but the north, including the capital, passed into English hands. Henry's rule in France, however, was short, as he died in 1422; seven weeks later the pathetic life of Charles VI. also came to an end. The heir of both kingdoms, by the treaty of Troyes, was a babe less than a year old, Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Catherine. Such sentiment of nationality as existed in France supported the claims of the Dauphin, now called Charles VII. (1422–1461). But his resources were slender, and his court at Bourges was distracted by the quarrels and violence of his adherents; during the first seven years of his reign, therefore, little progress was made in driving the enemy from the realm. The English cause also was weakened by quarrels: the young king's uncle, the Duke of Bedford, who acted as regent in France, was an able soldier and wise statesman; but another uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, was a selfish politician, whose ambitious schemes seriously menaced the English alliance with Burgundy.

In 1429 a new factor entered the struggle in the person of Joan of Arc. Joan was an uneducated peasant maid of north-

eastern France, of a mystical religious temperament. After reaching the age of fourteen she began to hear "voices" and see visions of saints and angels, in which she believed implicitly. She was much affected by the troubles of the time. When she was seventeen her "voices" urged her to go to the Dauphin, lead him to Rheims to be crowned, and deliver France. After much difficulty she reached the king's court, in male attire; and she so impressed Charles that he gave her an opportunity to show the reality of her powers. The city of Orleans at this time was beset by the English; if it fell, it would carry with it the ruin of the French cause. Equipped with armor and a holy banner, the maid set out with a small force, and entered Orleans in April, 1429. Blow after blow was struck against the English, and within ten days the siege was raised. The French seemed suddenly to have become invincible. Success followed success, until in July Joan led Charles to Rheims for coronation at the place where his ancestors had been crowned, and thus accomplished her mission.

205. Joan of Arc (1429–1431)

HOME OF JOAN OF ARC.

The sculptures over the entrance date from the restoration of the house in 1481.

After this, Charles was received with enthusiasm; but the successes won by Joan aroused the jealousy of Charles's advisers, and they did all they could to thwart her further plans. In September she was wounded while leading an attack on

Paris. In May of the next year she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians, and eventually turned over to the English. To break the spell of her deeds, she was accused of sorcery and heresy and tried before the bishop of Beauvais, an English partisan. Her condemnation was a foregone conclusion; and at Rouen in May, 1431, — wearing the cap of those condemned by the Inquisition, on which were painted devils and flames, with the words, "Relapsed heretic, apostate, and idolater," — she was burned at the stake. The nobility and purity of her character were such as to impress even her enemies. "We are lost; we have burned a saint!" were the words of an Englishman who witnessed her execution. The greatest blot on the fame of Charles VII. is the ingratitude he showed in making no effort to rescue from death the brave girl who, more than any one else, saved for him the throne of France.

The influence of Joan of Arc survived her in the energy with which the war was continued. In 1435 Philip of Burgundy abandoned the English cause, on condition that he be given certain lands and be freed from all homage to Charles VII. during his lifetime; and France was thus once more united. A series of reforms also gave to the crown a standing army, a force of improved artillery, — for cannon were becoming effective, — and a permanent revenue. While the French government was thus strengthened, England was weakened by the death of Bedford, the insanity of King Henry VI., and the growth of the dissensions among the English princes which developed into the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485). In these circumstances the expulsion of the English from France was only a question of time. In 1436 Paris surrendered to one of Charles's generals, the populace crying, "Peace, the king, and the Duke of Burgundy!" In 1445–1451 Normandy and the greater part of Aquitaine were conquered. Finally, in 1453, Bordeaux surrendered. Only Calais remained in English hands, to be kept for a century longer. The

206. Close of the war (1431–1455)

Hundred Years' War, with its enormous injury, both material and moral, to both parties, came quietly to an end.

Instead of winning for the English crown the whole of France, the Hundred Years' War thus lost for it possessions which had been held by English kings since the accession of Henry II. (1154). For France the struggle had these results: (1) the French king was delivered from the anomaly

ENTRY OF CHARLES VII. INTO PARIS.
From a miniature in a 15th century manuscript.

of having a rival king among his vassals; (2) the power of the crown was consolidated into almost absolute monarchy; (3) a national sentiment was born, which ultimately led to the complete nationality of to-day. But against these gains must be balanced fearful losses inflicted upon land and people, the check to population, and the brutalization of long-continued and unrestrained warfare.

The Hundred Years' War between England and France began in 1337 and lasted until 1453. It was caused by friction

between the two countries in Aquitaine, Scotland, and Flanders, and became desperate as a result of the claim advanced by Edward III. to the French throne.

207. Summary

It comprised three periods of active warfare: (1) In the first (1337–1360) occurred the great English victories of Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), the terrible ravages of the Black Death (1347–1351), and the uprisings of Marcel and the Jacquerie (1358); it closed with the treaty of Bretigny (1360). (2) The second period (1369–1380) was marked by the wise leadership of the French king, Charles V., and his general, Du Guesclin, which brought the greater part of the English possessions into French hands. (3) The third period (1415–1453) saw Henry V.'s great victory at Agincourt (1415), the treaty of Troyes (1420), the relief of Orleans by Joan of Arc, and the final expulsion of the English from Aquitaine in 1453.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Is the battle of Sluys to be classed as a real naval battle? (2) What advantage did it give the English? (3) What was it that enabled the English to win at Crécy and Poitiers? (4) Of what value was Calais to the English? (5) How did the Black Death produce a decline of the manorial system? (6) Was King John of France a good soldier? Was he a good general? (7) What effect would the excesses of Stephen Marcel have on the attitude of future kings toward the Estates-General? (8) What change was to be made in the position of the English in Aquitaine by the treaty of Bretigny? (9) Which side was responsible for the renewal of the war? (10) Was the treaty of Troyes binding on France? (11) Why did Joan of Arc experience such difficulty in obtaining an opportunity to show her powers? (12) Was it only jealousy of her that led Charles's advisers to oppose her plans? (13) Why were the English determined to prove her a heretic? (14) Was it a good or a bad thing for England that it lost its possessions in France? (15) Would it have been an advantage to the two countries to have had the same king?

Search topics

(16) Real causes of the Hundred Years' War. (17) The Black Prince. (18) The English archers, their training and prowess. (19) The Black Death. (20) Rising of the English peasants in 1381. (21) Stephen Marcel. (22) The Jacquerie. (23) Renewal

of the war in 1369. (24) Bertrand du Guesclin. (25) Battle of Agincourt. (26) Joan of Arc. (27) Source of her strength. (28) Attitude of the time towards witchcraft. (29) Reforms of government under Charles VII. (30) Arms, armor, and warfare in the time of the Hundred Years' War. (31) The Dauphiné.

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CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN STATES (1254–1500)

THE fall of the Hohenstaufen house (§ 136) was followed in Germany by the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), when for a score of years the land was practically without a head. Two foreigners — Richard, Duke of Cornwall, and Alfonso X., king of Castile — claimed the throne by election, but neither secured general recognition. The decentralizing forces long at work in Germany seemed completely triumphant. The imperial domains passed into the hands of the princes, so that the Interregnum caused the loss of the imperial revenues as well as a weakening of the imperial prerogatives. The feudal barons, secure in their strong castles, ruled as they pleased; peasants were tortured and oppressed, and merchants were robbed at will; "fist-right" — the rule of the strongest — was the only law the nobles recognized.

208. The Great Interregnum (1254–1273)

The death of Richard of Cornwall in 1272 gave the princes the opportunity to end the Interregnum by a new election. Their choice fell on Rudolph of Hapsburg, a Swabian, from whose poverty no danger to their independence was feared. Rudolph I. (1273–1291) recognized that it was folly for the Emperor to attempt to control Italy, and devoted his attention to building up a family power in Germany; his greatest success was the conquest of Austria, which thenceforth belonged to the Hapsburg house. On his death the princes passed over his son, and chose another "poor count," Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298); but Adolf's attempt to

209. Succession of weak Emperors (1273–1313)

find in an alliance with the lesser nobles and towns a counterpoise to the power of the princes led to his deposition.

Rudolph's son, Albert of Austria (1298–1308), was then elected Emperor, and followed the policies of his father; his reign was cut short by murder — the result of a private quarrel. Once more the princes refused to choose the son of the preceding Emperor, and French influence procured the election of a petty ruler of western Germany, Henry of Luxemburg (p. 252). Abandoning the safe policies of the last three rulers, Henry VII. (1308–1313) revived the imperial pretensions, and wasted his energies on an Italian expedition which cost him his life. The acquisition of Bohemia for his family, by marriage and warfare, was his one substantial gain.

210. Dispute over imperial election (1314–1347)

The death of Henry VII. in 1313 was followed by a double election. The right to choose the king of Germany (the future Emperor), originally vested in all freemen, had gradually been restricted, until by the end of the thirteenth century the idea became fixed that there should be just seven persons, constituting an electoral college, who possessed the hereditary right to elect. In 1313 two of the seats in the electoral college were in dispute; and moreover the notion of submission to a constitutional majority was still weak. The Hapsburgs, seeking to regain the power they had lost, procured the election of Frederick of Austria by one section of the electors; while the opposing electors, passing by the house of Luxemburg, chose Louis, Duke of Bavaria. War followed, which ended in the capture of Frederick by his opponent (in the battle of Mühldorf, 1322). For political reasons the Pope, John XXII., refused to recognize Louis; but the national sentiment of Germany rallied to his support. A Diet held at Frankfort in 1338 declared that "he who is elected Emperor or king by the electors of the empire, thereby becomes true king and Emperor . . . without the approval, confirmation, authorization, or consent of

Thatcher and McNeal, Source Book, 279

the Pope or of any other person"; and Louis was able to maintain himself until his death in 1347.

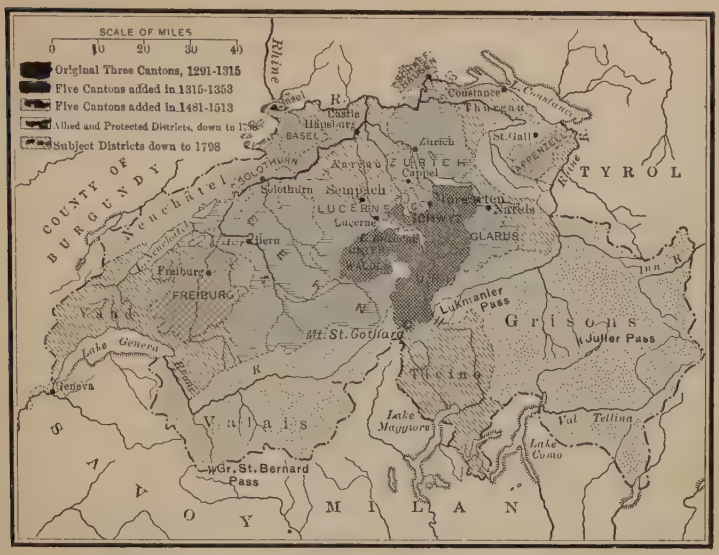
In the last year of Louis's reign, his opponents procured the election of Charles of Bohemia, grandson of Henry VII., as his rival; and eventually Charles received recognition from all Germany. He proved not merely the greatest king of the Luxemburg house, but one of the wisest rulers produced by Europe in the fourteenth century. His policy of building up Bohemia, through the promotion of commerce and the founding of a university at Prague, caused one of his successors, the Emperor Maximilian, to say that he "was the father of Bohemia, but the stepfather of the empire."

211. Charles IV.: the Golden Bull (1356)

This charge was based on Charles's persistent refusal to be drawn into Italian politics, and on the famous Golden Bull issued by him in 1356. In this document the seven electoral votes were definitely decided to belong to the three great Rhineland archbishops — of Mainz, Cologne (in German, *Köln*), and Treves (in German, *Trier*); and to four secular princes — the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg (map, pp. 252, 253). To prevent future disputes, their territories were made indivisible, with succession to males only. The right of coining money and of trying cases without appeal was given to the electors, who were placed above all other German princes. This arrangement made the constitution of Germany for centuries a federation instead of a centralized monarchy.

While the central power in Germany was growing feeble, evidence was given, in the rise of the Swiss Confederation, of sturdy vitality in the people. Many legends, such as that of which William Tell is the hero, have arisen concerning the origin of the Swiss Confederation; but historians have shown these to be pure myths. The real beginning of that important movement was the desire of the peasants of the three Swiss mountain cantons — Uri, Schwyz,

212. The Swiss Confederation (1291–1388)



GROWTH OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.

and Unterwalden — to secure their independence against their powerful neighbor, the Count of Hapsburg, who claimed lordship over them. In 1291 they formed their league, "to aid and defend each other . . . against every enemy;" as yet the confederation embraced only the three "forest cantons," and provided no means of federal government. The preoccupation of the Hapsburgs with Austria left these hardy mountaineers for a time in peace; and when (in 1315) an attempt was made to subdue them, the Austrian forces were signally routed at Morgarten.

Soon after, Louis of Bavaria, who was hostile to the Hapsburg house, confirmed the immediate dependence of the cantons on the empire. Other cantons then joined the confederation, until (by 1353) their number had been raised to "the eight old places," including the prosperous cities of Zurich, Lucerne, and Bern. But danger from the Hapsburg lords still continued, and in 1386 a second great battle was

fought at Sempach: in this battle the confederates were again victorious; the feudal forces of the Hapsburgs were defeated by the rude mountaineers, and their leader slain. After a third battle (at Näfels, in 1388) the independent position of the Swiss was secured; and thenceforth to the close of the Middle Ages their league grew in numbers and in definiteness of internal organization, without hindrance from the imperial power or the Hapsburg house.

Castle Hapsburg. (From an old print.)

In government an equally momentous change took place with the rise of modern states. In the early Middle Ages there existed the two great world powers — ideal and often visionary — the papacy and the empire, to which in theory all owed allegiance. In the second half of the fifteenth century both these powers were broken, and lingered as mere ghosts of their former selves. Then, feudalism was the basis of union in the state; now, feudalism as a political force was dead. Then, the nations of Europe had not been formed, and governments were characterized by provincial separation, by weakness of central control, by absence of legislative, police, and taxing functions, and by undeveloped machinery for such powers as were exercised; now, in several countries, modern states had arisen, strong in their national support, with enlarged powers and differentiated organs, strengthened by a body of well-ordered law, and controlling adequately their resources of men and money.

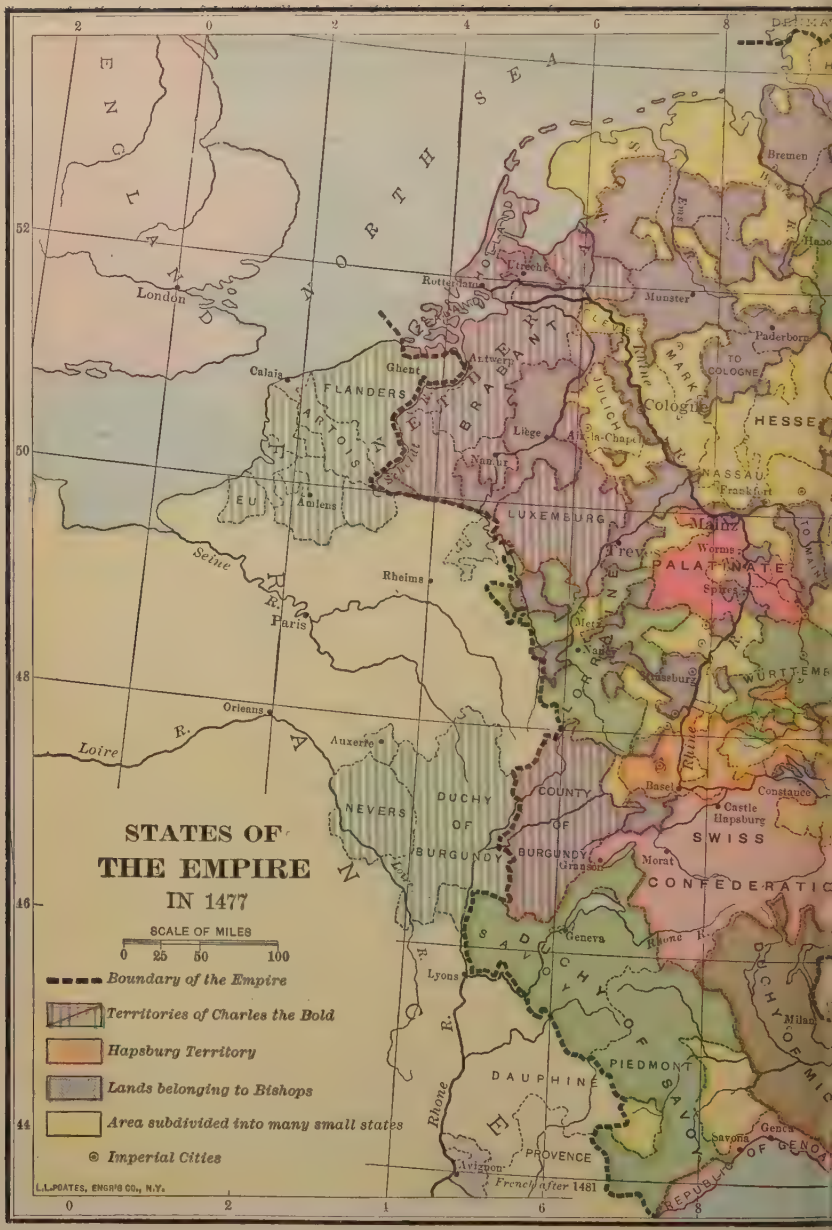
213. Rise of modern states

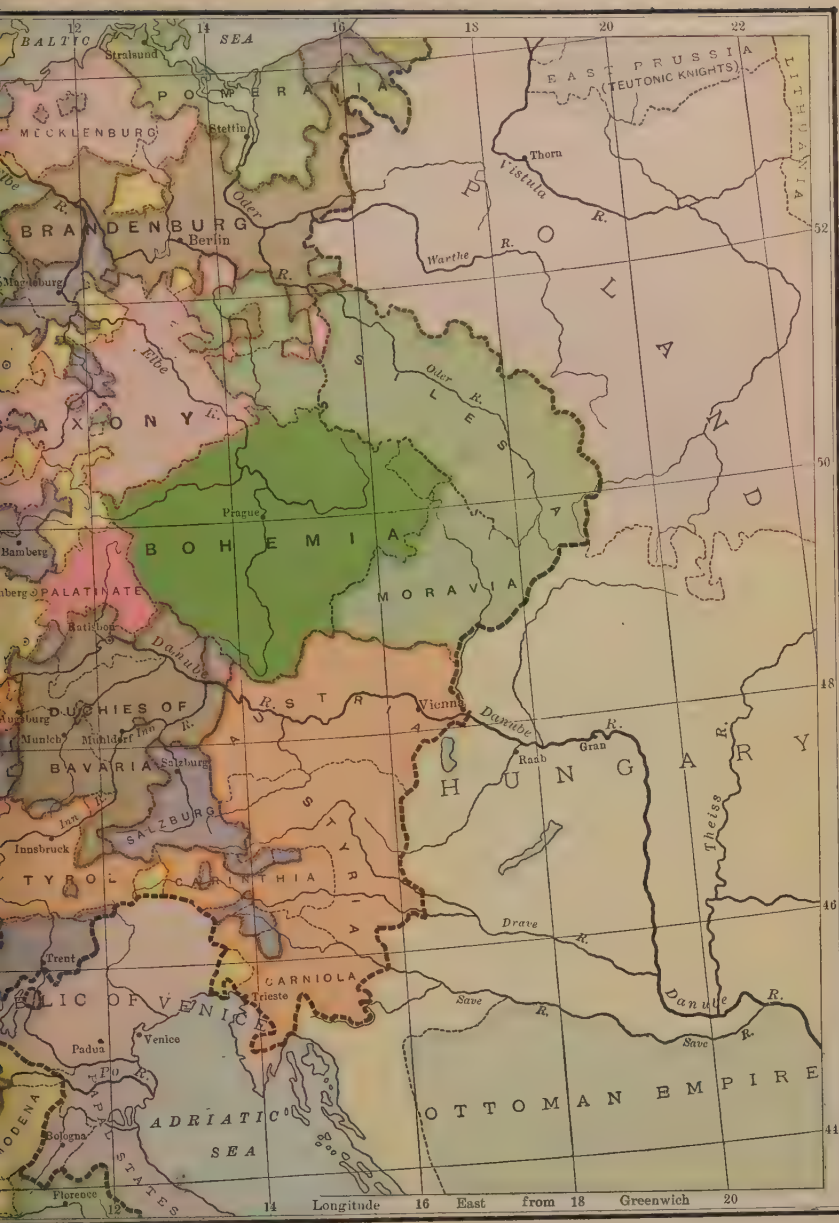
Of such states, France is the best type. Under Charles VII. (1422–1461), after the close of the Hundred Years' War, the government not only recovered from disorder but took on new strength; and under his son, Louis XI. (1461–1483), the development continued. In character, Louis XI. was unscrupulous, cruel, and fond of cunning intrigue. His chief object was to wipe out the last traces of feudal independence and make the monarchical power supreme. At the beginning of his reign he was met by a formidable league, headed by the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and his own brother Charles of Berri; although this was called the "League of the Public Weal," the peace extorted from the king in 1465 showed that selfish interests predominated. On the rise of new difficulties, Louis, in 1469, rashly sought to try his powers of diplomacy in a personal interview with Charles the Bold, who had now succeeded his father as Duke of Burgundy: at this moment the Burgundian city of Liège revolted, stirred up by the agents of the French king; Charles was furious, and Louis escaped from his perilous position only by a second humiliating submission. The opportune death of the Duke of Berri, in 1472, finally broke the coalition of princes and ended open hostilities.

214. France under Louis XI. (1461–1483)

Charles of Burgundy thenceforth found his energies diverted in a new direction. As ruler of the duchy and county of Burgundy, of the county of Flanders, and of a number of imperial fiefs in the Netherlands, Charles was one of the greatest princes of his day; but his territories were scattered and inharmonious (map, p. 252), and were held by widely differing titles. The ambition of his life was to consolidate these, and secure for himself the title of king. The pursuit of this object led him more and more into German politics, and ultimately he came into conflict with the Swiss confederates. In this war he was signally defeated at Granson and Morat in 1476; and a little later (January, 1477)

215. Death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1477)


STATES OF
THE EMPIRE
IN 1477
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Boundary of the Empire
Territories of Charles the Bold
Hapsburg Territory
Lands belonging to Bishops
Area subdivided into many small states
Imperial Cities
L.L.POATES, ENGR'S CO., N.Y.
ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
London
Calais
Ghent
Antwerp
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Munster
Bremen
Paderborn
TO COLOGNE
Cologne
HESSE
NASSAU
Frankfort
Mainz
Worms
Spires
PALATINATE
Treves
LUXEMBURG
Liege
Namur
Aix-la-Chapelle
JULICH
MARK
FLANDERS
ARTOIS
Amiens
Seine R.
Paris
Rheims
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
WURTTEMB
Orleans
Loire R.
Auxerre
NEVERS
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
Basel
Constance
Castle Hapsburg
SWISS CONFEDERATIC
Morat
Grandson
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lyons
SAVOY
DAUPHINE
PIEDMONT
Milan
Genoa
Savona
REPUBLIC OF GENOA
PROVENCE
Avignon
French after 1481
52
50
48
46
44
2
0
2
4
6
8


BALTIC SEA
Stralsund
POMERANIA
MECKLENBURG
Stettin
EAST PRUSSIA
(TEUTONIC KNIGHTS)
LITHUANIA
Thorn
Vistula R.
Oder R.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Warthe R.
POLAND
Elbe R.
SILESIA
Oder R.
SAXONY
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Bamberg
PALATINATE
Ratisbon
Danube R.
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Danube R.
DUCHIES OF
Augsburg
Munich
Mühldorf
Inn R.
Raab
Gran
HUNGARY
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Theiss R.
Inn R.
SALZBURG
Innsbruck
TYROL
CARINTHIA
STYRIA
Drave R.
Trent
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Save R.
Danube R.
Venice
Padua
Po R.
Save R.
ADRIATIC SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bologna
Florence
12
14
16
18
20
22
52
50
48
46
44
Longitude 16 East from 18 Greenwich 20

Charles the Bold met his death at Nancy, at the hands of the Swiss pikemen and halberdiers. Again the lesson was enforced, as at Crécy, that foot soldiers properly armed and handled were more than a match for feudal cavalry.

Louis XI. meanwhile was carrying out unchecked his policy of royal aggrandizement. Charles the Bold left as heir his daughter Mary, who was soon married to Maximilian of Austria; but the duchy of Burgundy and other of Charles's possessions were seized by Louis as king of France, on the ground that they could pass only to male heirs. In other directions the royal domain was rounded out under Louis XI., until it became almost coterminous with France itself. The only great feudal domains left outstanding were Brittany and Flanders: the former was finally acquired by marriage early in the sixteenth century; the latter had long been drifting away from France, and in 1526 was surrendered to the empire — to be largely reconquered in the next century.

Mary of Burgundy.
From the painting by R. van Bruges.

Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., was thirteen years of age when his father's death made him king of France. During his minority the government was ably administered

MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA.
From an old print.

by his sister Anne, whom her father had cynically styled "the least foolish woman in the world."

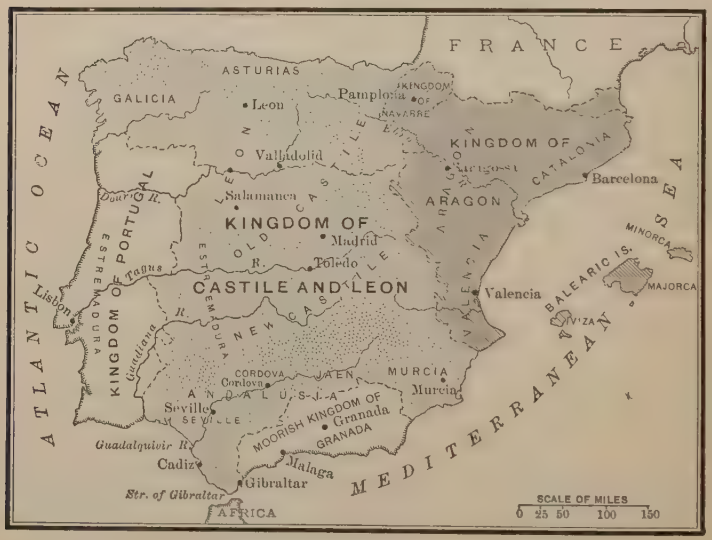
216. Charles VIII. of France (1483–1498)

Upon coming of age, Charles, in 1494, led an army into Italy to enforce claims to the kingdom of Naples which he had inherited from the house of Anjou (§ 136). The weakness of the mutually hostile Italian states was strikingly revealed by this expedition; it was almost a triumphal procession, and Naples fell with scarcely a blow. But soon Charles was called back by news of a formidable league formed in his rear by Milan, Venice, the Pope, Spain, and the Emperor. Before his death (in 1498) Naples was again lost to France, and soon passed into the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon, who already ruled Sicily. The expedition of Charles VIII. was nevertheless of great importance: it marks the end of the period of national isolation, and introduces a period of international leagues and warfare; more especially it marks the beginning of a conflict for the control of Italy between France and Spain, which lasted until 1559, and profoundly affected the development of the German Reformation.

217. England: Wars of the Roses (1455–1485)

England from 1455 to 1485 was torn by the Wars of the Roses, in which the rival houses of York and Lancaster contested for the crown. The Yorkist king Edward IV. (1461–1483) gave England a strong, capable rule in the intervals of peace; but after his death his two little sons

were murdered in London Tower by their uncle, who usurped the crown as Richard III. In 1485 Richard was slain at the battle of Bosworth, and his opponent of the house of Tudor became king as Henry VII. (1485–1509). The Tudor kings became almost despotic; but the nation gladly supported their rule for the sake of the peace and good order which it brought.



Spanish States, 1266–1492.

The development of Spain in the fifteenth century was little short of marvelous. During the Middle Ages its history lies outside the general history of western Europe, its chief features being (1) the gradual decay of the Mohammedan power (§ 12), which passed to the Moors (descendants of African Berbers mixed with other peoples), and (2) the rise of the Christian states of Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre: by 1266 the Moors were confined to the kingdom of Granada, where they remained in comparative peace for more than two centuries. In 1469 the marriage of Ferdinand

218. Rise of Spain (1469–1516)

of Aragon and Isabella of Castile laid the basis of the permanent union of these countries under a single head; then in 1492 Granada was taken, and the long crusade against the Mohammedans was brought to an end.

Portugal, meanwhile, for more than half a century, had been taking the lead in Atlantic discovery, and in the search for an ocean route to India; and the exertions of Prince Henry the Navigator (died 1460) led successively to the discovery of the Madeira Islands, the Canary Islands, the Azores, and Cape Verde. In 1486 the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1498 Vasco da Gama completed the work by reaching India. Seeking to anticipate this result, Queen Isabella of Castile, in 1492, consented to fit out the expedition with which Columbus unwittingly discovered the New World. To both Spain and Portugal the result of these efforts was the acquisition of vast colonial dependencies, and a flood of wealth.

Sicily had been annexed to Aragon since 1409; and the failure of the French kings to maintain their hold on Naples gave Spain that kingdom also (confirmed by treaty in 1504), thus making Spain the dominant power in Italy. At a later date, fortunate marriages joined to Spain's other possessions the Burgundian Netherlands, and the Hapsburg lands in Germany (§§ 215, 249). The church in Spain was purified and the monarchical power strengthened by a reform movement under Archbishop Ximenes (§ 233). This marvelous growth made Spain, in the sixteenth century, the wonder of Europe.

219. The empire under the Luxemburg line (1378–1437)

Charles IV., the author of the Golden Bull, was succeeded (in 1378) both as king of Bohemia and as German Emperor by his eldest son Wenzel, who proved drunken and incapable, and was declared deposed as Emperor by the electors in 1400. After a period of confusion, in which several claimants were raised up to contest Wenzel's title to the imperial crown, his younger brother Sigismund, who by

marriage was already king of Hungary, was recognized as ruler of Germany; and after Wenzel's death (in 1419), Sigismund succeeded him as king of Bohemia also: from his coronation as Emperor at Rome (in 1433) dates the use of the double-headed eagle as the imperial ensign.

Imperial Arms after Sigismund's Reign.

From iron work in the State Museum at Frankfort.

Sigismund's rule in Bohemia was long interrupted by a national uprising of the Czechs, due to his part in the burning for heresy of John Huss, the greatest religious teacher of Bohemia (§ 228). Under their blind leader Ziska and his successor Prokop (Procopius), the Bohemians not only successfully resisted crusade after crusade sent against them, but devastated large areas of Germany, until dissensions in their ranks permitted the triumph of their Catholic foes.

The death of the Emperor Sigismund, in 1437, brought to an end the Luxemburg line; and in the person of his son-in-law, Albert II. (1438–1439), the Hapsburg line for a third time came to the throne, of which it retained possession continuously for three centuries.

220. Hapsburg line restored (1438–1519)

Frederick III. (1440–1493), cousin of Albert, was the last Emperor to be crowned at Rome. The weakness of the imperial power did not permit him to take an active part in the affairs of Europe; and indeed for twenty-five years he remained secluded on his hereditary estates without visiting other parts of Germany; but his long reign and patient persistence laid the foundations for the great growth of the Hapsburg power. For years the five vowels "A · E · I · O · U" appeared inscribed on all his buildings and possessions: these are interpreted to mean, *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo* (in

German, *Alles erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan*) — that is, "the whole world is subject to Austria."

In the latter part of Frederick's reign and the earlier portion of that of his son, Maximilian I. (1493–1519), attempts were made by the electors to carry through an aristocratic reform of the constitution. The old Diet, or Reichstag, was to be developed into an effective assembly, meeting annually, in

TOWN HALL OF THE FREE IMPERIAL CITY OF FRANKFORT.
Present condition; built 1405–1413. Here the imperial elections were held in the sixteenth century.

three houses composed of the electors, princes, and representatives of the imperial cities; and at the same time an efficient system of courts, and an administrative council which was not dependent on the Emperor, were to be instituted. These reforms would have done something to end the anarchy of Germany, but only by substituting an aristocratic federation of the princes for the nominal rule of the Emperor. The movement failed, and the absence of any coercive central authority

continued to be one of the features of German political organization: this, together with the rivalry of Spain and France in Italy, proved of the utmost importance in allowing Protestantism the opportunity to grow and spread.

221. The Eastern Empire (1261–1439)

While the Holy Roman Empire of the West was becoming, in the language of Voltaire (an eighteenth-century Frenchman) "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire," the Eastern Empire came to an end altogether. The downfall of the Latin power at Constantinople, in 1261, restored the Greek Empire, with dominions in both Europe and Asia (see p. 138), but its vitality was enfeebled. On the north and west its territory was curtailed by the development of the Slavic states of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria; its capital was disquieted by the rivalry of Genoese and Venetian traders, and by never-ceasing palace intrigues and revolutions; more menacing still was the advent of a new and more formidable branch of the Turks in Asia Minor.

The newcomers were the Ottoman Turks, so called from their sultan, Othman, under whose father they first appear in western Asia in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The conquest of Nicæa, in 1330, brought them to the Bosphorus, and made them the dominant power in Asia Minor. A few years later they crossed the Hellespont and began a series of European conquests which culminated (1361) in the capture of Adrianople — thenceforth for nearly a century their capital. The strong walls of Constantinople long withstood them; but the Eastern Emperors were forced to pay tribute. In another way also the Christian populations contributed to their own subjugation: each year the Turks demanded a fixed number of children, who were educated by them in the Mohammedan faith, and trained to fight as their famous "new troops," or Janizaries.

The overthrow of the Ottoman sultan, in 1402, by the great Tartar leader Timour (Tamerlane), only checked for a time the Turkish conquests. To gain assistance against them, the

Greek Emperor and patriarch agreed to a submission of the Greek Church to the Latin, at a council held in Italy in 1438–1439; but neither the submission nor the assistance was real.

In 1453 Sultan Mohammed II. began the final siege of Constantinople with an overwhelming force. Mediæval and modern appliances were used together, the Turkish cannon, constructed by foreign engineers, being of larger caliber than ever before used. The Greek Emperor, Constantine Palæologus, made an heroic defense; but his people held aloof in sullen bigotry because of new negotiations for union with the Latin West. After fifty-three days' siege, a final assault was ordered, and the Janizaries forced the gates (May 29, 1453). The Greek Emperor was slain after a desperate resistance; the city was given up to plunder, and thousands of the population were enslaved.

222. Fall of Constantinople (1453)

MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA.

From a photograph. The tall minarets are Mohammedan additions.

The great Church of St. Sophia was robbed of its treasures, its frescoes and mosaics were whitewashed over by the puritanic zeal of the Turks, and it was converted into a Mohammedan mosque. The Eastern Empire, after surviving the Roman Empire in the West for a thousand years, came to an end. Constantinople became the capital of the Turkish dominions; but the Christian population was contemptuously tolerated, and before the end of the reign of Mohammed II. the city enjoyed more real prosperity than had been its lot for several centuries.

223. Summary

After the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), Germany became in reality a confederation of many states, and the strength of the Emperor depended largely upon the extent of his family possessions; with Frederick III. (1440–1493) the Hapsburgs of Austria secured almost hereditary possession of the imperial throne, and laid the foundations of their great family power. In France the Hundred Years' War was followed by a rapid recovery of the monarchy, which made Louis XI. (1461–1483) practically despotic; his son, Charles VIII., by his attempt to conquer the kingdom of Naples (1494), began a series of wars which lasted for many years and had profound results. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, planned to unite his dominions into a kingdom between France and Germany; but he was defeated and slain by the Swiss confederates (1477), and his plan came to naught. England, in the fifteenth century, experienced the civil Wars of the Roses (1455–1485). Spain rose rapidly in importance, through its union by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon (1469), the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada (1492), the hold which it acquired upon southern Italy (1504), and its new-found empire in the Indies (America). In the East, Christian Europe was curtailed by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the final fall of the Eastern Empire (1453). The development of modern states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was of great importance; but even more momentous was the history of the church and the intellectual changes of the period, which are treated in the next chapter.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) To what body connected with the papacy does the imperial electoral college correspond? (2) What advantages had the Swiss in their struggle for independence? (3) What advantages had the Hapsburgs? (4) By what right did Louis XI. of France claim the duchy of Burgundy after 1477? (5) In what respects did the

German constitution at the close of the Middle Ages resemble that of the United States under the old Articles of Confederation? (6) What peoples kindred to the Ottomans had preceded them in European history? (7) Why did the West not come to the assistance of Constantinople in 1453? (8) How did an Englishman (Richard of Cornwall) come to claim the German throne? (9) Why were the English civil wars of the fifteenth century called the "Wars of the Roses"?

Search topics

(10) The imperial electoral college. (11) Origin of the Swiss Confederation. (12) Battle of Morgarten. (13) John Ziska and the Bohemian wars. (14) Character of Louis XI. of France. (15) Charles the Bold of Burgundy. (16) Expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy. (17) Conquest of Spain from the Moors. (18) Character of Maximilian I. of Germany. (19) Proposed reform of the German constitution in the time of Maximilian. (20) Ottoman Turks. (21) Incidents of the fall of Constantinople. (22) Compare the states of Europe in 1500 with those in 800.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE GREAT CHURCH COUNCILS AND THE RENAISSANCE (1300–1517)

In the history of the church the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw successively (1) a seventy years' "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in France, (2) a schism which divided the nations of western Europe in their church allegiance for forty years, and (3) a series of great church councils which sought to wrest power from the hands of the Pope and to remedy a number of church abuses.

224. The Popes at Avignon (1305–1377)

The "Babylonian Captivity" was the result of the triumph of Philip IV. of France over Pope Boniface VIII. (§ 187); it lasted from 1305 to 1377, during which time the Popes resided at Avignon on the river Rhone. The identification of the papacy with one of the monarchies of Europe inevitably injured it with the others. When England entered upon its long war with France, it treated the papacy as a French ally, refused the tribute which John had agreed to pay, and passed statutes forbidding papal appointments to English benefices and appeals to papal courts (§ 171). In Germany it was the feeling that the papacy was the organ of France that rallied the national sentiment about Louis of Bavaria, and led the Diet to put forth its declaration that the Pope had no right of confirmation or rejection over the imperial election (§ 210).

Still more significant was the appearance of writings attacking the theoretical grounds of the papal power. In the *Defender of the Peace*, by Marsiglio of Padua, a partisan of Louis, sovereignty is claimed for the people, the clergy are confined

to spiritual functions without power of excommunication or other coercive authority, and the rights of the state are asserted against the papacy. In these principles we find "the whole essence of the political and religious theory which separates modern times from the Middle Ages." *Poole, Wycliffe and Movements for Reform, 35*

The threatened loss of the Papal States through municipal revolts and the encroachments of tyrants brought the papacy back to Rome in 1377. Pope Gregory XI. died the next year; and in the election which followed, the Roman mob, dissatisfied with the series of French Popes residing abroad, demanded "A Roman Pope, or at least an Italian!" The majority of the cardinals were French, but their own dissensions and the fear of mob violence led them to choose a Neapolitan, Urban VI. Within a few months, Urban's rough violence and obstinacy led the cardinals to repent of their choice; and on the ground of mob intimidation they then tried to set aside his election, and chose in his stead a Genevan, who took the name Clement VII. and set up his papacy at Avignon. **225. The Great Schism (1378–1417)**

A schism in the church was thus produced which lasted for forty years. "All our West land," wrote the Englishman Wyclif, "is with that one Pope or that other, and he that is with that one, hateth the other with all his. . . . Some men say that here is the Pope in Avignon, for he was well chosen; and some say that he is yonder at Rome, for he was first chosen." France and the Spanish kingdoms supported the Avignon Popes, while Germany, England, and Scandinavia adhered to Urban VI. and his successors. *Arnold, Works of Wyclif, II. 401–402*

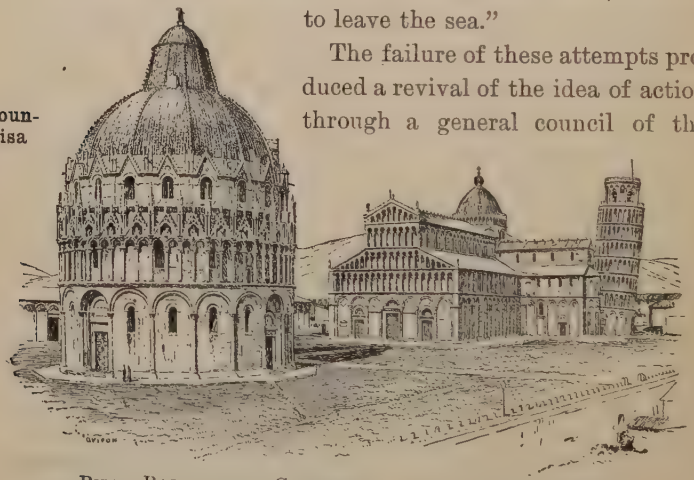
Since French influence was largely responsible for the schism, it was fitting that France should take the lead in efforts to heal it. On the advice of the University of Paris, the French government tried to organize a movement to compel both Popes to abdicate by withdrawing from allegiance to either: but Charles VI. of France was subject to insanity,

and Wenzel of Germany was a confirmed drunkard; and the attempt at coercion came to nothing. The scandal of the schism then forced the Popes themselves to take steps, and an agreement was made for a conference in 1407 at Savona, near Genoa, to bring about a joint abdication. Both Popes professed the greatest zeal for unity, and were probably sincere: but the Roman Pope, Gregory XII., was old and vacillating, and his fears were played upon by his ambitious nephews; while the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII., was too tenacious of the rights of the papacy as represented by himself. The conference, therefore, never took place. "One Pope," said a contemporary, "like a land animal, refused to approach the shore; the other, like a water beast, refused to leave the sea."

Creighton, Papacy, I. 213

The failure of these attempts produced a revival of the idea of action through a general council of the church, which was zealously urged by two members of the University of Paris, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson. According to the canon law, only a Pope could summon a council; the cardinals of both Popes, however, abandoned them, and united in calling a council which met at Pisa in 1409,

226. Council of Pisa (1409)



PISA: BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER.
Erected 1063–1350.

declared both Popes deposed, and elected a new one, who took the name Alexander V.

Instead of ending the schism, this only added a third claimant for the papacy, for neither Gregory nor Benedict recognized the act of deposition. On the death of Alexander V., in 1410, the cardinals chose as his successor John XXIII., a man of infamous life, but who seemed to have the needed political vigor to make good his position. In 1413 the capture of Rome by the king of Naples forced John to appeal for aid to the Emperor Sigismund; and Sigismund demanded, as the price of his assistance, the summoning on German soil of the Council of Constance, which lasted from November, 1414, to April, 1418.

227. Council of Constance (1414–1418)

All the states of Europe recognized this assembly, and it was thus enabled to succeed where the Council of Pisa had failed. It asserted its authority in the most far-reaching terms, declaring that it had power "immediately from Christ, and all men, of every rank and dignity, even the Pope, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to (1) the faith, (2) the extirpation of the present schism, and (3) the general reformation of the church of God in head and members."

Creighton, Papacy, I. 333

In carrying out this threefold programme, the council condemned the heresies of Wyclif, and burned at the stake John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who headed a movement in Bohemia similar to that of Wyclif in England. Huss had come voluntarily to Constance under a safe conduct from Sigismund, the violation of which was justified by the plea that faith should not be kept with those who are unfaithful to God. Both Huss and Jerome of Prague met their deaths with heroic constancy. This action of the council kindled a religious war, in which the Hussites not merely maintained themselves but carried devastation into the heart of Germany (§ 219).

228. Heresies condemned

In healing the schism the council was more successful than in dealing with heresy. Gregory XII., who represented the

line of Urban VI., sent envoys from his refuge in northern Italy to offer his abdication; and Benedict XIII., now a fugitive in Spain, was deposed and left without a following.

229. The Great Schism healed

John XXIII., who opened the council as president, was appalled by the array of charges brought against his character and life, and after ineffectual efforts to avoid his fate, submitted to deposition as "unworthy, useless, and harmful." Representatives from the five "nations" into which the council was divided were then added to the cardinals, and the united body chose as Pope a Roman cardinal who took the name Martin V. All Western Christendom recognized him, and the schism came to an end (1417).

Of the reform question at Constance, a Catholic historian says: "The great majority of the assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform. 'The whole world, the clergy, all Christian people, know that a reform of the church militant is both necessary and expedient,' exclaims a theologian of the day. . . . But . . . the members of the council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform." A strong party sought to defer the election of the new Pope until after a reform had been effected, but in this they failed. Pope Martin V., after his election, speedily showed "that little was to be expected from him" in this matter. "Neither the isolated measures afterward substituted for the universal reform so urgently required, nor the Concordats [separate agreements] made with Germany, the three Latin nations, and England, sufficed to meet the exigencies of the case, although they produced a certain amount of good."

230. The question of reform

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 202–209

One of the decrees of the Council of Constance provided for the regular summoning of councils in the future; and the continued demand for reform, together with the rout of successive armies of crusaders sent against the heretical Bohemians (§ 219), led to the assembling, in 1431, of the

231. Council of Basel (1431–1449)

Council of Basel. Pope Eugenius IV. soon issued a bull to dissolve the council; "incorrect information and fear of the growing power of councils induced the Pope to take this momentous step, which was a grievous mistake." The council claimed superiority over the Pope, and refused to recognize his decree; and after two years the Pope was forced to yield and revoke the decree of dissolution.

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 287

This council proved far more radical than the one at Constance. The attendance of the higher clergy at Basel dwindled until business was carried on mainly by members of the lower clergy and ecclesiastical adventurers. A hearing was given to the envoys of the Bohemians, and a series of compacts was entered into by which some of their demands were granted, especially the administering to the laity the wine as well as the bread in the Lord's Supper. It was no small gain that heretics should be treated with instead of being repressed by the arm of authority. The compacts, however, failed to end the troubles in Bohemia, and they were annulled by the Pope in 1462.

No adequate results followed the discussion of reform questions at Basel. "Instead of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses, which in many countries had reached a frightful pitch, the diminution of the papal authority and the destruction of the monarchical character of the church became the chief business of the synod." Among the ideas discussed and rejected was the abolition of the requirement of celibacy on the part of the clergy; but certain reforms were agreed upon at Basel, and following these both France and Germany issued "Pragmatic Sanctions" limiting abuses of papal taxation and appointment, which were ultimately withdrawn.

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 308

In 1437 hostilities again broke out between Pope and council, and Eugenius IV. issued a bull dissolving the council and calling another to meet in Italy. At Basel this step was met by decrees suspending, then deposing, Eugenius; and on November 5, 1439, the schism was renewed by the election of an anti-pope,

who took the name Felix V. No important nation recognized Felix; and after ten years came the downfall of both the Council of Basel and its anti-pope.

232. The papacy after the councils

For the next few years the papacy was engaged — under Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Pius II. — in remedying the damage done by the Great Schism, and in stamping out the last embers of the conciliar movement. The schism had doubled the financial burdens of the church, and reunion had not lessened them; and the demand for the removal of evils and abuses in the church grew stronger as time went on. In vain did Nicholas V. seek, by identifying the papacy with the literary and artistic revival of the fifteenth century, to recover its lost prestige. The effort also of Pius II. (1458–1464), to stir up a crusade against the Turks, only revealed more clearly that, as he himself had said, Europe looked "on Pope and Emperor alike as names in a story or heads in a picture." The mediæval papacy was dead as a political world power equally with the mediæval empire.

In these circumstances the Popes confined themselves largely to looking after the interests of the Papal States. From 1464 to 1521 the sovereign pontiffs[1] may be described as Italian princes, who united to their powers as head of the church the political craft and perfidy and the looseness of morals which characterized Italy in their day, and lost sight of the spiritual side of their office. A Catholic historian quotes approvingly this characterization of Alexander VI. (1492–1503), one of the worst of their number: "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism [favoritism to relatives], lastly on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private

Pastor, History of the Popes, IV. 139

[1] Paul II. (1464–1471); Sixtus IV. (1471–1484); Innocent VIII. (1484–1492); Alexander VI. (1492–1503); Julius II. (1503–1513); Leo X. (1513–1521).

life, which made every sort of accusation credible, and brought the papacy into utter discredit, while its authority seemed unimpaired."

Thus the Middle Ages end with the papacy and higher clergy sunk in worldliness; but among the people "the evidence is overwhelming," says a recent Protestant historian, "that the whole mediæval period witnessed a gradual deepening of the hold of religion on life and thought. . . . If the wider interests of religion are had in view, the period just previous to the Reformation witnessed not the lowest decline but the highest development of mediæval Christianity — high enough to be dissatisfied with its state, to feel dimly the inadequacy of its institutions, and the need of their improvement." In Spain, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, was seen a religious movement which particularly testifies to this. There a reform was carried out, on the initiative of Ferdinand and Isabella, and through the agency of Archbishop Ximenes, which purified the Spanish church, and produced a religious revival characterized by strict orthodoxy, limitation of the papal power, and a more rational theology.

233. Spanish awakening

Walker, Reformation, 6

In Italy also a moral and religious revival was begun by the Dominican friar Savonarola (1452–1498) at Florence. His vivid eloquence and commanding personality aroused the people from their frivolity and sensuality, and for a time he swayed the city at will. But unhappily he was led into politics; he took a prominent part in a revolution which temporarily cast out the ruling family of the Medici, and he turned Florence to alliance with the French when Charles VIII. made his raid into Italy (§ 216).

234. Savonarola (1452–1498)

This brought Savonarola into conflict with Pope Alexander VI., whose chief object was to provide a principality in Italy for his son, Cæsar Borgia. This end was pursued by father and son with frank disregard of morality and religion; in-

deed, the Italian writer Machiavelli (1469–1527), in his work entitled *The Prince*, took Cæsar Borgia as a model of that unscrupulous craft which was thought necessary to rule a newly won state. The chief danger to the Pope's designs came from the interference of France in the peninsula, and Florence was the chief supporter of that intervention. The persistence of Savonarola in adhering to the French alliance, his preaching after being excommunicated, and his attacks upon the Pope at length led to his downfall. Although his teachings were in general harmony with the doctrines of the church, Savonarola was condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake in 1498. Unlike the Hussite movement in Bohemia, his influence died with him.

SAVONAROLA.

The reform movements of Ximenes and Savonarola were orthodox efforts to effect an adjustment of the church to the modern spirit which was manifesting itself in the great movement called the Renaissance. The term means literally "rebirth," and is applied especially to the intellectual and artistic revival which, beginning in Italy about the year 1300, went steadily on throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Fundamentally, it was an awakening of the human intellect to wider fields of activity; it was the recovery of the freedom of individual thought and action. In the Middle Ages the individual was nothing; the guild, the commune, the church, were everything. The world and the flesh were regarded as evil, and their influence was to be combated. Curiosity was to be repressed; hence natural science, which is based on observation and investigation, made

235. Decay of mediævalism

little progress. The learning most worth having was theology, the basis of which was revelation; and with it flourished philosophy (the handmaid of theology), and law — the importance of which was due to the incessant conflicts of papacy and empire, of church and state.

236. Revival of learning

With the fourteenth century a new way of looking at things began in Italy to manifest itself. Human life and this world were viewed as things good in themselves, and not merely as a means of preparation for the world to come. Men began to give way to the stirrings of curiosity in matters hitherto neglected. A new interest was taken in the monuments of antiquity. Throughout the Middle Ages, Vergil, Cicero, and others of the best Latin authors were read as models of style, however imperfectly they were followed; but their content was feared as pagan. Now they began to be read for meaning as well as style; and in them men found that spirit of individualism, of "humanism," of which they were beginning to be conscious in their own breasts.

"The expression of the human mind in the Middle Ages had been scholasticism, that is to say, the interpretation of texts; the expression of the humanistic spirit was reason, that is to say, the affirmation of truth, evident or demonstrated." A new and exaggerated reverence for antiquity sprang up; and because the classical authors were now understood, men profited by their style as never before. Better Latin began to be written; and Greek, the knowledge of which had gradually died out in the West, was relearned from Constantinople. "Greece has not fallen," said an Italian scholar after the fall of Constantinople; "but seems to have migrated to Italy." Under the impulse of the new love for learning, the libraries of the monasteries of Europe were ransacked, and many lost works were recovered. Critical scholarship was born in the task of identifying and

Lavisse, General View, 135

Creighton, Papacy, III. 165

editing these treasures, and grammars and dictionaries were compiled for their interpretation.

237. Classic study and vernacular literature

The chief representatives of the revival of learning, in the fourteenth century, were Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch (1304–1374) was born near Florence, spent his boyhood at Avignon, and in manhood passed from one Italian court to another. He longed passionately for a revival of the glories of ancient Rome, and was the first who zealously collected Latin manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. He tried ineffectually to learn Greek in order that he might read Homer; and in countless letters, each an essay in finished Latin style, he spread broadcast the cultured and inquiring humanist spirit. Boccaccio (1313–1375) also was a Florentine; with much difficulty he gained some knowledge of Greek, and was the author of valuable dictionaries of classical mythology and geography. In the fifteenth century scores of humanists, of lesser genius but greater learning, carried on the work begun by these two.

Along with the revival of learning went another movement, which also owed much to Petrarch and Boccaccio. The Italian, French, and English tongues, and later the German, were raised to the rank of literary languages, and vernacular literatures were created. The Florentine poet Dante (1265–1321) represents "the glimmer of the dawn" of the Renaissance. Born amid the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline, he spent his later life in the wanderings of political exile. His epic poem, the *Divine Comedy*, was not merely the first important literary work in Italian, but was the first great piece of modern literature, one of the masterpieces of all time. Petrarch's *Sonnets* showed that the Italian language was adapted to lyric poetry; and Boccaccio, in a series of short stories called the *Decameron*, became the father of Italian prose. In England the poet Chaucer (1340–1400) used the language of the people for his *Canterbury Tales*; and Wyclif used the same tongue in much

of his writing and preaching. In Germany the development of a literature in the people's tongue was aided by the work of Martin Luther in the sixteenth century.

Architecture, sculpture, and painting also felt the new impulse, and flowered into masterpieces such as the world had not seen since the days of classical Greece. In architecture the classical revival was felt early in the fifteenth century, when men restored the style of ancient Rome, adapted to the requirements of modern ecclesiastical, civic, and domestic building. Bramante (1444–1514) was foremost

238. The fine arts in Italy

St. Peter's, at Rome. (Present condition; erected 1506–1626.)

in this work, and to him Rome owes the original plan and part of the completed structure of the church of St. Peter's. Michael Angelo (Michelangelo, 1475–1564) illustrates the many-sidedness of the Italian Renaissance by the preëminence which he attained alike in architecture, sculpture, and painting. He superintended the building of St. Peter's, and added the towering dome; sculptured many figures, of which those

of David, Moses, and the figures for the Medici monument at Florence are perhaps most famous; and painted a series of biblical pictures for the Sistine Chapel at Rome, of which his fresco of the Last Judgment is probably the most famous single picture in the world; in addition he was a poet of no mean note. In painting, the Italian Renaissance reached its height in the period 1470–1550, which saw the works of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Raphael (1483–1520), and others, as well as those of Michael Angelo. In Venice the movement was of somewhat later origin than elsewhere in Italy; but a Venetian school, of which Titian (1477–1576) was foremost, gained fame for its brilliant and accurate coloring

239. Science and criticism

The critical spirit which was developed in the study of the ancient authors passed into criticism of mediæval philosophy, mediæval science, and mediæval religion. Scholastic philosophy lost its hold upon the world, and the writings of Plato were read along with those of Aristotle, whose works now became known in the original Greek. Medicine profited by the dissection of the human body; but it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that an English physician, Harvey, completely demonstrated the circulation of the blood. Chemistry made important strides, though to many investigators it was only a means to find the mythical "philosopher's stone," with which to turn base metals to gold. Mathematics also experienced some advances.

Above all, the study of the stars passed from the astrologer to the astronomer. For centuries the teaching of the Greek philosopher Ptolemy had prevailed, which made the earth the center of the universe, about which turned sun, moon, and stars. Copernicus (1473–1543) now taught that the sun is the center about which the earth revolves with the other planets, turning at the same time upon its axis. Galileo (1564–1642), with the aid of the telescope, which he so improved as to make

practically a new invention, explored the heavens and made discovery after discovery; but because of the opposition of the theologians, he was obliged to withdraw as heretical the teaching, which he borrowed from Copernicus, that the earth moves around the sun.

The same sort of critical investigation which led to these scientific discoveries enabled Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457) to prove that the alleged Donation of Constantine (§ 63), by which were defended some of the papal claims to temporal power, was a clumsy forgery.

240. Arts of war and navigation

A development of the arts of war and of navigation also marked this period. The improvements in the arms and handling of foot soldiers, which made them superior to the mounted and armored knights (§§ 185, 193, 215), were accompanied by the introduction of gunpowder, which robbed the feudal castle of its strength. From a very early date gunpowder was used in India and China for rockets and fireworks. Its introduction into Europe, and use in cannon, took place in the fourteenth century; but it was not until the fifteenth that improvements in its composition and in appliances made it an effective instrument of war. The musket and pistol do not appear until the sixteenth century.

The art of navigation also owed much to the Far East. About 1300 the mariner's compass was introduced into Europe from China, where it had long been known; and the astrolabe and cross-staff, used to ascertain latitude, were adapted to purposes of navigation in the fifteenth century: these were among the few instruments possessed by Columbus and Vasco da Gama on their famous voyages. Longitude, however, could not be reckoned with any degree of accuracy until the invention of the watch, in the eighteenth century, made comparatively easy its calculation by differences of time.

Geographical knowledge was greatly increased by the acceptance of the view that the earth is a sphere (a fact known to

the ancients, but rejected on theological grounds by the Middle Ages), and by a system of rational maps in place of fantastic and mythical representations of the world. In the sixteenth century the invention of Mercator's projection — a form of map in which all meridians and parallels are straight lines intersecting at right angles — made possible sea charts for compass sailing on courses drawn as straight lines.

Spread of Printing during the Fifty Years following its Introduction into Mainz.

The boundaries are modern.

241. Invention of printing (about 1450)

The intellectual awakening came earliest in Italy, and gradually spread to the lands beyond the Alps. The great church councils of the fifteenth century were an important help in its spread by bringing the scholars of Italy into touch with those of other lands. The greatest aid, however, was afforded by the invention of printing. As late as 1350 practically all books in Europe were prepared entirely with the pen. Some time after that date the practice arose of

printing tracts and short books, for which there was a large sale, from engraved blocks of wood. Such crude "block books" were a step in advance; but it was not until separate types were cast in metal, making possible their use in many combinations, that the art of printing was really born. The honor of this invention is usually given to Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, in Germany, who printed from movable types about the year 1450; but the date, place, and original discoverer of the art are all disputed. The invention cheapened books and spread broadcast the means of culture. By the end of the century, printers had established themselves in more than two hundred places in Europe, and books and pamphlets were multiplied at an unprecedented rate. Leaflets containing woodcut pictures, illustrating the questions of the day, made an equally powerful appeal to the illiterate.

242. The Renaissance beyond the Alps

In Italy, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, scholars became almost pagan in their devotion to the learning of Greece and Rome; and frank disregard of religion and morality spread among all classes. North of the Alps a more serious tone characterized the movement; without neglecting the classical authors, scholars turned more to the study of early Christian writers. In England, John Colet, dean of St. Paul's cathedral at London, labored for an educational and religious revival. In Germany, Reuchlin became the center of a bitter literary and theological quarrel, because of his Hebrew studies and his desire to save the books of the Jews from burning at the hands of bigoted scholastics; and to defend him, a group of younger humanists, of whom the brilliant but dissolute Ulrich von Hutten was one, published a series of satirical letters entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, purporting to be written by Reuchlin's opponents, and designed to cast ridicule upon them as a stupid party.

The best example of northern humanism is offered by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536). After passing a few

years in a Netherlands monastery, he studied at Paris, in England, and in Italy; his home thenceforth was wherever there were literary friends, books, and a printing press. In biting satire he attacked the evil lives of monks, the arrogance of theologians, and superstition and ignorance everywhere. He devoted himself especially to editing and printing works of the early church fathers, and thus became the founder of a more learned and comprehensive theology. Scores of books were published by him: the most widely read, perhaps, was his satirical *Praise of Folly*; the most important was his edition of the New Testament (1516), making accessible, for the first time in a printed volume, the original Greek text. Owing to the knowledge of Latin possessed by all educated men, his works were everywhere read. He desired a reformation in the church "without tumult," carried through by education and by appeal to the reason. In his own day he possessed an influence such as few scholars have had. Though his plan of orderly reform could not avert the uprising against the church, his work profoundly affected that movement as well as the church itself. "The Reformation that has been," says a writer of our own time, "is Luther's monument: perhaps the Reformation that is to be will trace itself back to Erasmus."

243. Erasmus (1467-1536)

ERASMUS.
From the painting by Holbein.

Beard, Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, 73

In reviewing the history of the seven centuries between 800 and 1500, we see Europe in a constant state of transformation.

The prosperity of Charlemagne's reign was followed by the political and ecclesiastical disintegration of the ninth and tenth centuries. Through feudalism, military efficiency was recovered and the Continent saved from conquest threatened by Saracens, Hungarians, and Northmen.

244. Summary of the Middle Ages

The refounding of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto I. (962) again gave Europe theoretical political unity, and led to the purification of the papacy and the church through the Cluniac reforms (tenth and eleventh centuries). The conflicting claims of papacy and empire then produced a series of struggles between these world powers, lasting from 1075 to 1268: these include the Investiture Conflict (1075–1122) begun between Gregory VII. and Henry IV.; the long struggle with Frederick Barbarossa; and the contest which ended in the death of Frederick II. (1250) and the final downfall of the Hohenstaufens (1268).

National states meanwhile were arising; and with France, the first of these, the papacy came into disastrous conflict in 1296–1303. Then followed the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon, the Great Schism, and the church councils, which ended the papacy as a world power. The political supremacy of France which followed was checked by a long war with England (1337–1453); and again at the end of the period it was about to be eclipsed by the newly grown power of Spain.

The Crusades (1096–1291) were almost exactly contemporaneous with the struggle of papacy and empire. In one view they were an expansion of Europe eastward; similar movements were the conquests from the Slavs on the northeast of Germany, the Northman colonization of Iceland and Greenland, and the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries of the fifteenth century. The Middle Ages were also the period of the rise and vigor of the towns, of the universities, and of monastic organizations of various sorts. Chivalry, scholasticism, and Gothic art are manifestations of the earlier period, which

gradually change as the revival of learning grew in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All in all, the Middle Ages were a period of transformation, when the old classical civilization, Christianity, the vigorous Teutonic races, and elements drawn from the Mohammedan East combined in bewildering variety. It was essentially the period when Europe became Europe, and made ready to found new Europes across the seas.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Urban VI. or Clement VII. the true Pope? Give your reasons. (2) Why should England and France take opposite sides in the Great Schism? (3) Compare the powers claimed by the Council of Constance with Gregory VII.'s memorandum of the powers of the papacy. (4) Was the council's claim constitutional or revolutionary? Was it necessary or unnecessary? (5) Why did the councils fail to reform the abuses in the church? (6) Compare the character and European position of the Popes after the councils with the character and European position of Pope Innocent III. (7) Contrast the mediæval with the modern way of looking at the world. (8) Why was scholasticism insufficient as an intellectual training? (9) Why should the revival of learning come first in Italy? (10) How did printing help on the Renaissance? (11) Why were the northern humanists more serious and religious-minded than the Italian?

Search topics

(12) Effects of the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism on the papacy. (13) Incidents of the Council of Constance. (14) John Huss. (15) The Emperor Sigismund. (16) The papacy under Julius II. (17) The reforms of Ximenes in Spain. (18) Savonarola. (19) Dante. (20) Petrarch. (21) Michael Angelo. (22) Raphael. (23) Leonardo da Vinci. (24) Invention of printing. (25) Reuchlin. (26) Erasmus. (27) Discoveries of ancient works of art. (28) Discoveries of ancient literary works.

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EUROPE IN 1556
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Spanish Hapsburg Territories
Austrian Hapsburg Territories
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
York
London
Canterbury
Calais
English Channel
French after 1559
Rotterdam
Ghent
Cologne
NETHERLANDS
Noyon
Paris
Versailles
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Vassy
BRITTANY
Nantes
Loire R.
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
POITOU
La Rochelle
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Avignon
FRANCHE COMTE
SAVOY
Geneva
Pyrenees
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Douro R.
Ebro R.
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
Tuste
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Cadiz
Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MEDITERRANEAN
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
CORSICA
(To Genoa)
L.L.POATES, ENGRIG CO., N.Y.
10 Longitude 5 West 0 Longitude 5 East

Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
SWEDEN
G. of Finland
Novgorod
Volga R.
Moscow
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
TEUTONIC KNIGHTS
Dúna R.
Smolensk
Lund
Stralsund
Danzig
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
BRANDENBURG
Vistula R.
Warsaw
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Dresden
Elbe R.
Breslau
SILESIA
SAXONY
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Cracow
Carpathian Mts.
Turkish boundary in 1672
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Dnieper R.
KHANATE OF CRIMEA
AUSTRIAN HUNGARY
Danube R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
Munich
STYRIA
Raab
Buda
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Pruth R.
BESSARABIA
CRIMEA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
Mohacz
HUNGARY
Theiss R.
Venice
Padua
Save R.
WALLACHIA
ROMAN
Bologna
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Danube
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
ADRIATIC SEA
Florence
PAPAL STATES
Constantinople
RUMELIA
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
ALBANIA
ASIA MINOR
Lepanto
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
CYPRUS
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
from
Greenwich
15
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35

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY (1517–1555)

245. Causes of the Reformation

It was inevitable that the changes in the intellectual, political, and economic life of Europe, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, should produce changes in religion as well. (1) The allegiance of peoples to the See of Rome had been weakened by the practical dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, by the residence of the Popes at Avignon for seventy years, and by the Great Schism. (2) The spirit of inquiry due to the Renaissance was in the air; and the Bible and the writings of the church fathers were now more accessible. (3) Reasons existed for calling in question many things in the existing order of the church, among which was a sense of dissatisfaction with the worldliness and corruption of the higher clergy — a feeling increased by the failure of the reform movement in the councils of Constance and Basel, and particularly marked in Germany, where bishoprics and canonries passed almost exclusively to younger sons of princely houses, who showed more of a political than an ecclesiastical spirit. (4) A national feeling also existed in Germany which manifested itself in the attempts at political reform under Maximilian (§ 220), and resented the devices by which money was drawn from Germany for the support of the Pope and Italian priests. (5) The economic condition of the German peasantry was bad, and their social discontent predisposed them to religious revolt. (6) Finally the period immediately preceding the Reformation saw a quickening of spiritual life in Germany, which led many to turn from formalism and the veneration of relics and seek the more spiritual elements of religion.

These more spiritual elements of religion many found in various organizations of mystics which flourished in the Rhineland, typical of which were the mysterious "Friends of God," represented by the great Strassburg preacher, John Tauler (died 1361), and the more practical "Brethren of the Common Life," who gave themselves to the work of education: their most famous member was Thomas à Kempis (died 1471), whose *Imitation of Christ* is still a popular book of devotion with Catholics and Protestants alike. The mental attitude of mysticism is thus described: "It aims to soar into a region above that in which ecclesiastical and theological diversities arise. Its method is the direct apprehension of God by the soul — as form, color, sound, are apprehended by the senses. Mysticism does not argue; it can not appeal to any external authority; it broods, it meditates, it listens for the divine voice."

Beard, Martin Luther, 43

LUTHER.
From the painting by O. Brausewetter.

From the various causes indicated above came the Protestant Reformation — a movement which was at the same time a political, intellectual, social, and spiritual reaction against the life and religion of the Middle Ages.

246. Martin Luther (1483–1546)

This reaction manifested itself independently in different countries and in different persons; but the dominant personality of the whole movement was the Saxon Martin Luther. Born at Eisleben, in 1483, of peasant parents, Luther was educated at the University of Erfurt for the law, but entered instead an Augustinian monastery. He strove in vain to attain inward peace through a strict observance of monastic rules — through fasting, vigils, and

mortification of the flesh. From what may be classed as mystical teachers and writings, he at last got the assurance that justification (or salvation) comes as a result of faith in the atonement of Christ, and not as a result of good works. The peace which this assurance gave him, he sought to impart to others by his labors as preacher and theological teacher. From 1508 till his death he was a professor in the University of Wittenberg, newly founded by the Elector of Saxony.

In 1517 Luther was disturbed by the advent in his neighborhood of Tetzel, a preacher of indulgences. In the later Middle Ages the practice had arisen of commuting the disciplinary penances (such as fastings and pilgrimages) imposed by the church upon penitent offenders for a money contribution to some worthy cause; and at this time the indulgences were offered by Pope Leo X. for aid toward building the great church of St. Peter's at Rome. In the authoritative teaching of the church, indulgences did not do away with the necessity for repentance on the part of the sinner; but some preachers perverted the authorized theory, and gave the impression that the indulgences wiped away the penalties of sin even without true repentance. Relatives were encouraged to purchase indulgences for the dead, so that souls being kept for a time in purgatory, as penalty for sins not wiped away on earth, might be released and go at once to heaven. Says a Catholic historian: "Grievous abuses there certainly were in the proceedings and the behavior of the indulgence preachers, and the manner of offering and extolling the indulgence caused all sorts of scandal."

247. The ninety-five theses (1517)

Janssen, History of the German People, III. 92

In accordance with the practice of mediæval scholars, Luther, in 1517, posted on the door of the church at Wittenberg a series of ninety-five theses (or propositions for discussion by scholars), setting forth his views concerning indulgences.[1] He

[1] See University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, II. No. 6, pp. 5–12.

was far from wishing to break with the ancient church: his theses merely denounced the abuses of the indulgence system, and emphasized the necessity of faith in order to attain salvation; and (in spite of the corruption and indifference to religion which he had found at Rome when on a visit there in 1510) he declared that no one would be quicker to condemn the teachings of Tetzel than the Holy Father. Much to Luther's astonishment, his theses when printed spread rapidly throughout Germany. Leo X. was at first inclined to look upon the whole matter as a mere "squabble of monks"; but to give up indulgences as then used meant a considerable loss to the papal revenue, and Luther's opinions, when carried to their logical conclusions, meant a wide breach with the theological and ecclesiastical system on which indulgences were founded.

It was determined, therefore, to quiet Luther, and in 1519 he was prevailed upon to make a qualified submission. His views, however, were attacked by Dr. John Eck; and in a disputation at Leipzig Luther went far beyond his earlier position, and affirmed that many of the views for which the Hussites were condemned as heretics were nevertheless true. His opinions developed still further in the months which followed. In a series of writings in 1520, — the most important of which was his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*,[1] — he rejected the papal headship, the mediatorial power of the priest, the binding nature of monastic vows, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and all of the seven sacraments except baptism, penance, and the eucharist. The Pope now seemed to him "not the most holy, but the most sinful of men"; and he seriously questioned whether the Pope was not the Antichrist foretold in the Bible. As the heat of controversy increased, his peasant blood betrayed him into coarseness of language and intemperate and unseemly abuse of opponents, which his friends in vain strove to check.

248. Luther excommunicated (1520)

[1] See translation in Wace and Buchheim, *First Principles of the Reformation.*

In the latter part of 1520 a papal bull of excommunication was published against Luther. Forty-one articles selected from his writings were condemned, his books were ordered to be burned, and he and his followers, unless they recanted, were threatened with the punishment of heretics. This bull, together with books of canon law and scholastic theology, Luther burned before the city gate of Wittenberg, amid great popular enthusiasm. "My meaning is," he wrote, "that the Papal Chair, its false teachings and abominations, should be committed to the flames." His breach with the Catholic Church was complete: it was difficult to see what fate other than that of Huss could await him.

Alzog, Church History, III. 36

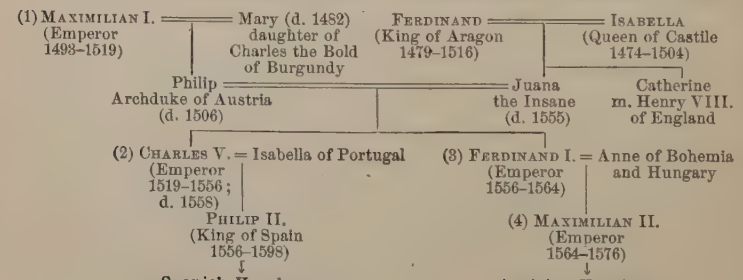
CHARLES V.

Painting in Windsor Castle, showing the famous "Hapsburg lip."

249. Emperor Charles V. and Luther (1521)

The young Emperor Charles V.[1] had inherited the sovereignty of the Netherlands, Spain, the united realms of Naples and Sicily, and vast possessions in the New World and the East (see map, p. 284); to these were added, upon the death of his grandfather

[1] GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V. AND THE HAPSBURG IMPERIAL HOUSE


(1) Maximilian I. (Emperor 1493–1519)
Mary (d. 1482) daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy
Ferdinand (King of Aragon 1479–1516)
Isabella (Queen of Castile 1474–1504)
Philip Archduke of Austria (d. 1506)
Juana the Insane (d. 1555)
Catherine m. Henry VIII. of England
(2) Charles V. (Emperor 1519–1556; d. 1558)
Isabella of Portugal
(3) Ferdinand I. (Emperor 1556–1564)
Anne of Bohemia and Hungary
Philip II. (King of Spain 1556–1598)
(4) Maximilian II. (Emperor 1564–1576)
Spanish Hapsburgs
Austrian Hapsburgs

Maximilian, the Hapsburg inheritance in Germany, and — after a spirited contest against the candidature of Francis I. of France — the imperial crown (1519). These possessions made Charles the greatest prince of his age; and upon the course taken by him in Germany would depend in large measure the outcome of the Lutheran movement.

In 1521 the young Emperor came into Germany for the first time, to hold an imperial Diet at Worms. To this meeting Luther, as a special concession to his friends, was summoned under the Emperor's safe-conduct. Charles was, by nature and education, a good Catholic; but it would never do to condemn the German heretic unheard — even the papal legate wrote: "Nine-tenths of Germany shouts for Luther. The other tenth, if it does not crave for Luther's teaching, at least cries, 'Down with the Roman Court,' and raises the further demand for a council to be held in Germany." *Creighton, Papacy, VI. 169*

When Luther was warned of the danger that awaited him at the Diet, he replied, "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roof, I will go there." At the Diet he was called upon to recant the opinions expressed in his books, and courageously replied: "Unless I am convinced by witness of Scripture or plain reason (for I do not believe in the Pope or in councils alone, since it is agreed that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am overcome by the Scriptures which I have adduced, and my conscience is caught in the word of God. I neither can nor will recant anything, for it is neither safe nor right to act against one's conscience." Then he added in German: "God help me! Amen." From Pope and councils, Luther thus appealed to the Bible, interpreted by individual judgment. *Beard, Martin Luther, 432–441*

All efforts to procure any other answer from him proved vain. It is to the honor of Charles V. that Luther was allowed to depart in safety, and that he did not, like Sigismund at Constance, break his pledge of safe-conduct. In May, 1521,

LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG. (Photograph.)

the Edict of Worms was issued, adding the ban of the empire to that of the papacy: all persons were forbidden to shelter or assist Luther, his person was to be seized and delivered to the Emperor, and his books were to be burned.

250. Progress of the Reformation (1521-1525)

The preservation of Luther after the Edict of Worms was due chiefly to the stanch support given him by his prince; Frederick the Wise of electoral Saxony.[1] On the road to Wittenberg he was secretly seized, by friendly arrangement, and carried off to the strong castle of the Wartburg, where he lived for a time in seclusion, few even of his followers knowing what had become of him. His leisure there was occupied by translating the Bible into the German tongue, the result being the version still used by German Protestants.

[1] In 1485 Saxony was divided between two brothers (Albert and Ernest) into (1) electoral Saxony, with Wittenberg as its capital, and (2) ducal Saxony, with Leipzig and Dresden as its chief cities.

In 1522 he left his retreat and returned to Wittenberg, in order to quiet disturbances caused by more radical reformers in his absence. Under his guidance a conservative reform was then carried out. The mass service in Latin was replaced by a service in the German tongue, in which preaching and congregational singing were given prominent places, Luther himself composing some of the finest hymns in the German language. Bishops and archbishops were replaced by officers called "superintendents," whose functions were wholly ecclesiastical. The doctrines of the Lutheran Church were ably set forth by Luther's friend and Wittenberg colleague, Philip Melanchthon.[1] From Saxony the movement spread to most of the states of North Germany, and even South Germany was for a time profoundly affected. Wherever the Reformation was established, monasteries and nunneries were dissolved, and the church property, beyond what was needed for the support of the new faith, passed into the hands of secular rulers.

251. Peasants' revolt (1525)

In 1525 occurred a great revolt of the peasants in South Germany, due partly to religious agitation, and partly to long-standing economic grievances. In a series of Twelve Articles, the peasants demanded (1) that each parish have the right to choose its own minister, (2) that they be freed from the personal bondage of serfdom, and (3) that dues to their lords and clergy be reduced. The revolt was put down by the nobles with pitiless severity, urged on by Luther, who feared to see the religious reform complicated with questions of social and political regeneration, and wished to preserve the support of the German princes. The peasants gradually sank into a state of oppression exceeding anything known elsewhere in western Europe. In the same year, Luther, the ex-monk, showed his disbelief in

[1] His family name was Schwarzerd (= "Black-earth"), but this in accordance with a practice of scholars of the time was exchanged for its Greek equivalent, "Melanchthon."

the binding nature of monastic vows by marrying Catherine von Bora, an ex-nun.

Erasmus, who was accused of having "laid the egg that Luther hatched," maintained an attitude of neutrality toward the Reformation, for he disapproved of Luther's violence of language and action, and had little sympathy with Protestant dogmatism. "I dislike these gospelers on many accounts," he wrote in 1528, "but chiefly because through their agency literature everywhere languishes, disappears, lies drooping, and perishes. They love good cheer and a wife, and for other things they care not a straw." The bitterness of contending sects and the clash of arms overbore the plea for reason, moderation, and toleration which he raised; and he died in 1536 out of harmony with all parties. Other scholars also, who had led in attacking the abuses in the church, returned to the ancient fold when reform became revolution.

252. Attitude of Erasmus

From 1521 to 1530 Charles V. was continuously absent from Germany, engaged in a series of wars with France for the duchy of Milan, to which both laid claim. Pope Clement VII.[1] (1523–1534) feared Spanish control of Milan more than French, because Charles V. already possessed the kingdom of Naples; accordingly, he actively aided Francis, and Charles thereupon cooled in his zeal to crush the Lutheran movement. In 1525 a great victory at Pavia gave Charles possession not only of Milan, but of the person of his rival, Francis I. The French king agreed to a treaty surrendering his claims in Italy as the price of his release, but no sooner did he regain his liberty than he repudiated the treaty, and war was renewed.

253. Wars of Charles V. with France (1521–1529)

In 1527 the imperial army in Italy, which was unpaid and largely composed of Germans of Lutheran sympathies, re-

[1] The Avignon Popes of the Great Schism (Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., § 225) are not recognized by the Catholic Church, and these names were assumed by later Popes.

volted, and plundered Rome. The destruction wrought was enormous, and the agony of the event "marked the end of the gay, easy-going, artistic, pleasure-loving Rome of the Renaissance." It also forced the Pope to abandon the French alliance, and adopt a policy more favorable to Charles V. In a second peace (1529) Francis again renounced his claims in Italy, and paid a heavy indemnity.

Walker, Reformation, 136

Each prince and city of Germany, meanwhile, dealt with the question of religion in his own way, some holding fast to the old faith, some adopting the new. As a result of Charles's successes, the representatives of the Catholic faith were able to take a more decided stand at a Diet held at Spires in 1529, where a decree was passed calling for the carrying out of the Edict of Worms. Against this decree the Lutheran princes and cities issued the protest that won for them the familiar name of "Protestant." Fortunately for them, the Turks, who in 1526 had defeated and slain Louis, king of Bohemia and Hungary, at Mohacz, and taken Buda, now advanced, in 1529, to the siege of Vienna. In the face of this danger, the attempt at suppression of the Protestants was again deferred.

254. Diets of Spires and Augsburg (1529–1530)

In 1530 Charles himself appeared at a Diet which met in Augsburg The Protestants, in their attempt to justify their innovations, presented to him the Augsburg Confession — the first great Protestant creed. It was the work of Melanchthon, and was eminently conciliatory; but it was found impossible to reconcile the differences between the two parties. The Catholics being in the majority, it was ordered that the Protestants must make their submission within five months.

The long-expected religious war again seemed about to begin, and in anticipation of it the Protestants organized the League of Schmalkalden. But again Charles found his hands tied by troubles with the Turks and renewed war with France (1536–1544). A treaty which was concluded

255. The Schmalkaldic war (1546–1547)

with France in 1544 confirmed to Charles the possession of Milan, and secretly pledged both Charles and Francis to the extirpation of heresy. Then at last the Emperor was left free to deal with the Protestants in Germany, and preparations for war began.

Four months before the struggle commenced, Luther passed peacefully away at Eisleben, the place of his birth (February, 1546). The Schmalkaldic war, as Charles's attack upon the Protestants was called, ended with the battle of Mühlberg (April, 1547), in which their leaders, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, were defeated and taken prisoners. This was due in large part to the assistance given the Emperor by Maurice, the Protestant ruler of ducal Saxony; as reward for this service, the electoral title and half of electoral Saxony were taken from the line of Frederick the Wise and given to the collateral line represented by Maurice. The collapse of Protestantism seemed complete.

256. New difficulties of Charles V. (1547–1552)

But again Charles's hand was stayed in dealing with German heresy. This time the check was administered by the Pope himself (Paul III.), who was filled with alarm at the Emperor's too rapid victories, and adjourned the church council, which at Charles's request had been assembled at Trent to hear the Protestant demands, to the papal city of Bologna, where it might be more fully under his own control (1547). After four years of diplomatic struggle, Charles secured the return of the council to Trent, but was then suddenly confronted by a dangerous political and religious combination in Germany. The leader of this combination was his former ally, Maurice, who after all was himself a Protestant; besides the chief Protestant princes of Germany, the alliance included Henry II., the Catholic king of France, who promised financial aid to the rebels on condition that he be allowed to take possession of the great imperial border fortresses, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. With an army raised osten-

sibly for the Emperor's service, Maurice suddenly marched southward against Charles, who was taken unprepared at Innsbruck, in the Tyrolese Alps, and saved himself only by a hasty flight (1552).

EXTENT OF THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT IN GERMANY, 1555.

Wearied with a lifetime of struggle, Charles now gave up the contest, and a truce was concluded, which in 1555 was converted into the religious peace of Augsburg. Catholics and Protestants alike longed for peace, and were ready to purchase it at the cost of some sort of toleration for the opposite party. The principle adopted was that expressed in the phrase *cujus regio, ejus religio,* which meant that the rulers of each principality and free city might establish at their option either the Catholic or the Lutheran worship, leaving to dissentients the right to emigrate. For more than half a century this treaty gave repose to Germany, but it contained

257. The peace of Augsburg (1555)

two fatal defects which ultimately brought about the Thirty Years' War: (1) there was no protection promised to Protestants other than Lutherans, although Calvinism was already beginning to be of importance; and (2) there was still room left, as time passed, for bitter disputes concerning the ownership of church lands secularized by Protestants.

258. Abdication of Charles V. (1556)

In the negotiation of this peace Charles V. took no personal part, and in 1555 and 1556 he abdicated his many crowns and retired to the monastery of Yuste in Spain, where he died in 1558. He was cold, calculating, far-sighted, patient; it was his fate to rule two diverse lands, Spain and Germany, at the most difficult moment of European history. His son Philip II. (1556–1598) succeeded him as king of Spain and the Two Sicilies, and lord of Milan, the Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies — but not (in spite of all Charles's efforts) as Emperor.

The imperial office, by choice of the electors, passed to Charles's brother, Ferdinand I. (1556–1564), who united to the archduchy of Austria the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which he had acquired by election of the nobles on the death of the unfortunate king Louis at Mohacz (§ 254). From 1556 there are thus two Hapsburg houses, the one in Spain, lasting until the extinction of its male line in 1700, and the other in Germany, which continues in the Austrian rulers to the present time. The imperial dignity and the elective kingships of Bohemia and Hungary made the Austrian Hapsburg line one of the greatest of European powers, occupying by its peculiar position a place both in the system of western and in that of eastern Europe — the head of a growing multitude of states, diverse in race, language, and religion, and the chief bulwark of Europe against the Turks.

The intellectual awakening which we call the Renaissance carried with it a reformation in religion and a lasting schism;

this came independently and in different degrees in different countries; but the German Reformation, of which Luther was the dominating spirit, was the most important. The pre- occupation of Charles V. with affairs outside Germany, and the lack of a centralized constitution, gave the movement a chance to establish itself wherever it found the local authorities favorable. After more than twenty-five years of delay, the attempt at forcible repression was made, and failed. Territorial toleration was then established by the peace of Augsburg (1555) for Lutherans and Catholics, but not for other sects. The right of individual toleration was recognized neither by Catholics nor by Protestants for years to come.

259. Summary

In many respects the Reformation age was "the most striking period in religious history since the days of the early church." Doubtless the causes of the Reformation are not entirely to be found in laudable instincts for higher spiritual life and the cultivation of the human intellect; and its course does not show all zeal, holiness, and religion on one side, and tyranny, ignorance, and relic worship on the other. The immediate effects of the Reformation, too, were not altogether what the reformers had expected, and Luther's later life was embittered by the radical excesses, moral decay, and theological bickerings which Protestant Germany experienced. Nevertheless, for Protestants the movement brought independence of religious thought, individual responsibility, and a freer life; while for Catholics it developed more zeal and love for the old faith and hastened the adoption of the reformatory measures within the church, which we shall soon see enacted in the Council of Trent.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Did the cause of the Reformation lie in Luther or in the general state of things? (2) What caused the development of Luther's views from the position he held in the *Ninety-five Theses* to that shown at the Diet of Worms? (3) Was the cause of the peasants in their revolt just or unjust? (4) Is Luther to be blamed

for opposing them? (5) Why did Erasmus refuse to join Luther? (6) How did Charles's foreign wars aid the Reformation? (7) How did the Turks aid the cause of the Reformation? (8) What is the place of Melanchthon in the history of the German Reformation? (9) How far was the Reformation directed against observances and how far against doctrines?

Search topics

(10) The German Mystics. (11) Luther's early life. (12) The Reformation, to the end of 1520. (13) Hutten. (14) Tetzel. (15) The Diet of Worms. (16) Elector Frederick the Wise. (17) The peasants' revolt. (18) Attitude of Charles V. toward the Reformation. (19) Melanchthon. (20) The Augsburg Confession. (21) Luther's character and home life. (22) Maurice of Saxony. (23) The religious peace of Augsburg.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REFORMATION IN OTHER LANDS, AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION (1518–1610)

In the Protestant Reformation it was mainly the Teutonic nations — Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, and parts of Germany and the Netherlands — those nations which had most successfully withstood the power of imperial Rome of old — that rejected the authority of the Pope. The Romance nations — France, Spain, and Italy, which were most affected in language and habits by the Roman Empire — remained true to the papal allegiance. The Slavic nations which had received Roman Christianity, such as Poland and Bohemia, accepted Protestantism for a time, but later were won back to the Catholic Church. Russia and southeastern Europe, which were Greek Christian or Mohammedan, were unaffected by the movement.

260. Extent of the revolt from Rome

We have considered the Reformation chiefly as an event in religious history, but it must not be forgotten that it was also a political change: it was a revolt of the new national spirit against the control by Rome of ecclesiastical persons, property, and trials. In countries where the Reformation was established, the civil power claimed those rights of taxation, jurisdiction, and the like which the papacy had before exercised: where the governing power was a monarchy, the crown was strengthened; but in Switzerland, where the government of each canton was republican, it was the power of the people that was increased. The political condition of the different countries also determined the course which

261. Its character in different countries

the Reformation took. In Germany and Switzerland, where there was practically no central authority, a period of division and civil wars was followed by the definite establishment of Protestantism in some districts, and its rejection in others. In England, Denmark, and Sweden, where the central power was strong enough to carry the nation with it, the revolt from Rome was completely established. In France, in spite of its strong monarchy, a series of disastrous religious wars followed, ending in a limited toleration for Protestants; but a century later this settlement was overturned, and Catholicism completely triumphed.

262. Swiss Reformation: Zwingli

The Reformation in German Switzerland began, independently of Luther, with the labors of Ulrich Zwingli, the son of a prosperous peasant, who received a good education, and grew into his reform views without either the material or the spiritual struggle which shaped Luther's character. He represents the humanistic culture derived from Erasmus more than does Luther, and had none of the mysticism which tinged Luther's views; the reformation which he carried out was more logical, and also more radical, than that of the Saxon reformer. Luther, who became a reformer almost against his will, wished to preserve all that was not positively contrary to Scripture, as he interpreted it; Zwingli, on the other hand, like Calvin a little later, rejected all not commanded by the Bible. Zwingli, again anticipating Calvin, introduced a rigid discipline, in which playing games, swearing, and tavern frequenting were severely punished.

263. Zwingli as a reformer (1518-1529)

Zwingli's work as a reformer began with an attack in 1518 upon indulgences and pilgrimages. His appointment, late in the same year, as preacher at the cathedral of Zurich, enabled him to secure a wider hearing; and in a series of sermons in which "evangelical" views were set forth, he prepared the people for a breach with the old church. In 1523 the burgomaster and councils of the city ordered a public

debate to be held between Zwingli and his opponents. In preparation for this, Zwingli published a series of theses, in which he maintained the sole authority of the Bible, salvation by faith, and the rightfulness of clerical marriage; and rejected fastings, purgatory, and similar practices and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. Zwingli triumphed in the debate, and the magistrates gave their approval to his work. "Pictures, crucifixes, and images were removed from the city churches . . . relics were burned, holy water was done away with, organs silenced, and frescoed walls whitewashed, as an effective method of making a *tabula rasa* of the symbols of the older worship." Extensive changes were also made in the services and constitution of the church; and from Zurich the reformation spread to the cities of Bern and Basel, and to others of the Swiss cantons.

Walker, Reformation, 157

Zwingli was more of a statesman than Luther; and his mind formed projects of a union of all the opponents of Charles V. Luther had no liking for such political alliances, and distrusted Zwingli's theological views, especially on the Lord's Supper. Both rejected transubstantiation (§ 56): Luther, however, believed that the body of Christ was physically present in the sacrament *along with* the bread and wine (consubstantiation); Zwingli, on the other hand, interpreted the words of Christ, "This *is* my body" to mean "This *signifies* my body," and taught that Christ was present only in a symbolical sense.

264. His controversy with Luther (1529)

In 1529 a conference was held at Marburg between the parties, with a view to bringing them into union with each other. Luther took his stand on the letter of the text, and with chalk wrote the words of Christ in Latin on the table before him, *Hoc est corpus meum*. From their literal meaning it proved impossible to move him, and he even refused to take Zwingli's hand in token of fellowship, saying that the Swiss reformers were "of another spirit." Their failure to

agree was unfortunate, for a union of all Protestants was imperatively needed to meet threatening dangers. A lack of political insight, a hasty temper, and some measure of intolerance were weaknesses intertwined with Luther's strength.

265. The Swiss war, and death of Zwingli (1531)

The wealthier and more populous Swiss cantons embraced the cause of the reformers; but the five forest cantons remained zealously Catholic. Besides religious differences, there were also political disputes: the city cantons wished to change the constitution so that representation in the Swiss federal Diet should be proportionate to population. In 1529 war was narrowly averted; in 1531 it actually came. At Cappel the troops hastily levied by Zurich were totally defeated by a larger force from the forest cantons, and among the slain was numbered Zwingli himself. A peace was then made whereby each canton was left free to do as it liked in religious matters. This was really a victory for the Catholic party, which soon secured a majority in the federal Diet.

266. John Calvin (1509–1564)

The work which Zwingli began at Zurich was continued by John Calvin at Geneva. As organizer and systematizer, Calvin was the greatest of the reformers, and his influence was most widespread. Calvin was born at Noyon, in northern France, in 1509; he was thus a generation younger than Luther and Zwingli. He was prepared at French universities for the profession of law, but determined to devote himself to a life of scholarship; then he fell under the influence of French reformers, and in 1535 was forced to leave the kingdom.

267. Calvin at Geneva (1536–1564)

A year later (1536) Calvin happened to pass through the French-speaking city of Geneva, which had recently thrown off the control of its feudal lords and accepted the Reformation; and the urging of the Protestant leaders induced him to remain and take up the active duties of reformer in that turbulent little republic. With the exception

of two years of exile, Geneva was thenceforth the scene of Calvin's labors until his death in 1564; and for a quarter of a century he controlled completely its civil and ecclesiastical government. Two important features of his ecclesiastical system were: (1) the republican constitution of the church, by which control was vested in councils called "synods" and "presbyteries," instead of in bishops and archbishops; and (2) the rigid supervision exercised by the church over manners and morals, — the "Puritan" ideas of worship and life, indeed, come chiefly from Calvin and his predecessor, Zwingli. The greatest blot on Calvin's fame was the burning, with his approval, of a brilliant but unbalanced writer named Servetus, on a charge of heresy and blasphemy. This act, though strongly condemned by modern opinion, was in harmony with the views, both Catholic and Protestant, of that age.

JOHN CALVIN.
From an old print.

Under Calvin's leadership the Genevan Church became the model for Protestant churches in many lands. His views were embodied in a book called the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which became the leading theological work of the age and profoundly influenced all subsequent Protestant thought. The reformation in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland was thoroughly Calvinistic, while in England and the English colonies in America, religious and even civil institutions were profoundly affected by his teachings.

While Protestantism was becoming systematized under the influence of Calvin, the Catholic Church began to reform the practical evils in its organization, and prepared to take

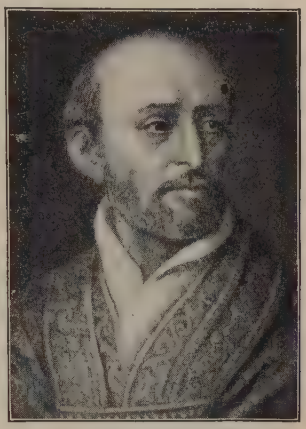
the aggressive. The model for this reformation within the church was found in the reform movement carried out in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella (§ 233). Under Pope Adrian VI. (1522–1523) an attempt was made at financial reforms in the Roman court, but this was defeated by the shortness of Adrian's rule and the opposition of the officials whose interests were concerned. After the sack of Rome by the soldiers of Charles V., in 1527, the political activity of the papacy was diminished; and under a series of reforming Popes — Paul III. (1534–1549), Paul IV. (1555–1559), and their successors — a sincere effort was made to do away with the long accumulation of abuses.

268. The Counter Reformation (1534–1563)

One of the chief agencies of this Counter Reformation was the Council of Trent, which first assembled in 1545, was adjourned for a time to Bologna (§ 256), and lasted (with an intermission of ten years) until 1563. It rejected private interpretation of the Scriptures, declaring that not the individual member of the faithful but the highest authorities in the church must determine the true meaning of the text; affirmed the use and validity of ecclesiastical tradition in matters of belief, holding that all of the doctrines revealed by Christ are not necessarily or explicitly set forth in the written word; and made the Vulgate (Latin) version of the Bible the standard in the church. In the matter of reform, the council increased the authority of the bishops over their clergy, and strengthened the whole ecclesiastical discipline; it emphasized the preaching function both of bishops and parish priests; and it issued decrees requiring seminaries to be established in every diocese for the better education of candidates for the priesthood. The result of the council's labors was that the church could thenceforth appeal to a modern, clear, and authoritative presentation of its faith, and was put in a position to present a united front to Protestantism.

The most aggressive force in checking the revolt from Rome was the Order of Jesus, popularly called the "Jesuits," founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491 ?–1556), a high-minded Spanish nobleman, whose dreams of military glory were cut short by a wound which permanently lamed him, and who thenceforth turned his energy to the service of the church. His order was based on military as well as monastic models; the members were drilled and disciplined in spiritual exercises, took the monastic vows of poverty and chastity, were bound to unquestioning obedience to the Pope in missionary service, and renounced by vow all ecclesiastical dignities such as bishoprics. No special dress was prescribed, thus permitting disguise in hostile lands; and room was found in the order for the exercise of the most varied talents. Its missionaries, chief of whom was Saint Francis Xavier, did heroic work in carrying Christianity among the natives of America, and to the East Indies, Japan, and China. Preaching and educational work were also carried on in Europe; and the centralized organization of the society, together with an elaborate system of reports to the general at its head, made its work extremely effective.

269. The Jesuits (1540)



IGNATIUS LOYOLA.
From a painting in Venice.

"By the end of the century the tables had been completely turned. Zeal, devotion, learning, self-sacrifice, religious enthusiasm, were now on the side of the church. Superior in concentration, the church presented a united and effective front to her enemies, and was prepared when the opportunity should come to initiate a crusade by the help of the Jesuits against Protestantism in Europe, while a new

Wakeman, Ascendancy of France, 43

world was being won for her across the ocean by their missionary efforts."

270. The Reformation in France (1515-1562)

In France the reform movement began as an outgrowth of the Renaissance, in the work of Jacques Lefèvre, who taught independently some of the doctrines which Luther developed in Germany. It was affected little by the teaching of Luther and much by that of Calvin. The French king Francis I. (1515–1547) for a time showed toleration to the reformers, but in 1535 persecution began. Under Henry II. (1547–1559)[1] the French Protestants, or "Huguenots," drawn mainly from the middle and higher classes, are said to have numbered four hundred thousand persons, and possessed two thousand places of worship; unlike the lower classes in Germany, the lower classes in France remained intensely loyal to the Catholic Church. Henry II. for political reasons supported Maurice of Saxony and the German Protestants, in 1552, in their attack upon Charles V. (§ 256); his sympathies, however, were wholly with the Catholics. Peace with Spain, concluded in 1559, gave him the chance to turn his attention to rooting out the heretics; but in the fêtes accompanying the Spanish treaty, he was accidentally killed while breaking a lance in a tournament in mediæval fashion.

The three weak sons of Henry II. then reigned one after another. A contest for the control of the government occurred,

[1] Charles VIII. (§ 216) was succeeded, upon his death without children, by his father's second cousin, Louis XII. (1498–1515), the representative of the nearest collateral line of the house of Valois. The death of Louis XII. without children gave the throne to his cousin's son, Francis I., whose successors were as follows: —

(1) Francis I. (1515–1547)

(2) Henry II. (1547–1559) m. Catherine de' Medici

(3) Francis II. (1559–1560), first husband of Mary, Queen of Scots

(4) Charles IX. (1560–1574)

(5) Henry III. (1574–1589)

Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou (d. 1584)

in which the parties were the upstart but able heads of the Catholic house of Guise, the queen mother Catherine de' Medici, and the leading Protestant nobles, headed by Louis of Condé (a member of the Bourbon house) and Gaspard de Coligny. During the short reign of Francis II. (1559–1560) the Guises were all-powerful, and Protestantism was rigorously repressed. An unsuccessful conspiracy to overthrow the Guises caused the Prince of Condé to be condemned to death; but the sudden death of the young king saved him and brought the power of the Guises to an end.

The new king, Charles IX. (1560–1574), was entirely ruled by his mother, Catherine de' Medici, who was jealous of the power of the Guises, and at first favored Condé and the Huguenots. In 1562 an edict was issued, allowing the Protestants to assemble unarmed for worship, except in walled towns. The Duke of Guise, however, soon attacked a congregation of Huguenots peaceably assembled in a barn at Vassy, and this act of lawless violence inaugurated a period of religious warfare which lasted for thirty years, and was marked on both sides by treacheries and assassinations.

271. First religious wars in France (1562–1570)

Eight distinct wars are counted in this period, separated by formal treaties of peace — four in the reign of Charles IX., and four in the reign of Henry III. (1574–1589). In the first war, Duke Francis of Guise was murdered by a Protestant sympathizer, leaving his title and a burning desire for vengeance to his son Henry; in the third, brave Condé fell. The exhaustion of both parties then led, in 1570, to the first real treaty of peace: the Protestants were assured of freedom of worship except at Paris, and were granted possession of four cities, including the strongly Protestant town of La Rochelle, as a pledge of the observance of the treaty. This was the beginning of a practice, later continued in the Edict of Nantes (§ 274), whereby the Huguenots became "a state within the state."

After the close of the third war, Charles IX. threw off the influence of his mother, and came for a time under the ascendency of the high-minded Coligny, now the leader of the Huguenot party. Catherine de' Medici plotted with the Guises for Coligny's murder, but the attempt failed, and in desperation she then played upon the fears and weakness of the king to procure the seizure and execution of Coligny and the other Huguenot leaders. Charles yielded at last, but demanded that not only the leaders but all Huguenots should be slain, in order that none might remain to reproach him with the deed.

272. Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572)

Large numbers of the Protestants had assembled to celebrate the marriage of Condé's nephew, Henry of Navarre, with the sister of Charles IX. On the night of August 23, 1572, (St. Bartholomew's eve), more than two thousand of them were slain, including Coligny himself; and the massacres in the provinces added at least twenty thousand more to this number. Personal enmities and opportunities for plunder were not forgotten by the fanatical mobs. "It was a combination of private vengeance and public condemnation," says the historian Ranke, "such as the world had never seen since the days of Sulla's proscriptions."

Ranke, Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, 277

A renewal of the religious war followed immediately, and republican ideas begin to appear in Huguenot writings: against the monarchy which had wronged them they raised the idea of the sovereignty of the people. When Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry III. (1574–1589), a thoroughly evil man and one of the promoters of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Catholics themselves were divided. The extreme party, under the Duke of Guise, turned more and more to Philip II. of Spain, from whom came money, men, and leaders for the "Catholic League," which they formed; the more moderate party, called *Politiques*, wished to secure a permanent peace on the basis of toleration.

273. More religious wars (1572–1589)

The death of the king's sole remaining brother, in 1584, opened the succession to the Protestant Henry of Navarre, head of the house of Bourbon, whose claims were strongly opposed by the League, backed by Spain and the Pope.

The eighth civil war (1585–1589) followed, called the "War of the Three Henrys" from its leaders, Henry of Guise, Henry III., and Henry of Navarre. In this struggle the Duke of Guise showed himself more king than Henry III. himself, and the latter caused him to be murdered, as he was entering the royal council chamber (1588). The Duke of Mayenne, Guise's younger brother, succeeded him as head of the League; and Henry III., to escape a just vengeance, allied himself with Navarre. In August, 1589, while laying siege to rebellious Paris, Henry III. was himself assassinated by a fanatical monk.

HENRY IV. (From an old print.)

Henry of Navarre now became king of France[1] by the same hereditary right to which

[1] His claim to the throne is shown by the following table :—

HUGH CAPET
(Seven generations)
LOUIS IX. (Saint Louis, 1226–1270)

PHILIP III. (1270–1285)

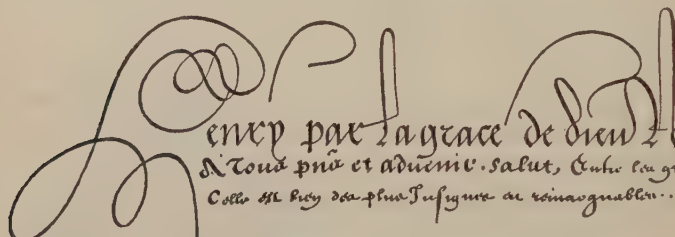
PHILIP IV. (1285–1314), father of LOUIS X. (1314–1316), PHILIP V. (1316–1322), and CHARLES IV. (1322–1328), with whom the (1) **direct Capetian line** ends.

Charles, Duke of Valois, ancestor of the (2) **main Valois line**, which begins with PHILIP VI. (1328–1350) and ends with CHARLES VIII. (1483–1498); of (3) LOUIS XII. (1498–1515); and of the **(4) line of Francis I.** (see p. 308).

Robert (married heiress of Bourbon), ancestor of the (5) **Bourbon line** of kings, which ascended the throne in HENRY IV. (1589–1610) and continued to the French Revolution (1792).

the Valois kings owed their succession, and against his brilliant leadership the League struggled in vain. Spain, its ally, was crippled in 1588 by the defeat of its great Armada sent against England (§ 282), and was able to lend little assistance. By becoming a Catholic in 1593, Henry IV. removed the last obstacle to his acceptance by the French people. The religious question was settled for the time by the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, by which Huguenots were

274. Henry IV. ends the wars in France (1589–1610)



BEGINNING OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

given (1) equal political rights with Catholics, (2) a limited freedom of worship, (3) the possession of La Rochelle and other strong places as cities of refuge.

The Edict of Nantes completed the pacification of France. With the aid of his minister the Duke of Sully, Henry IV. then restored the monarchical power, which had been seriously impaired in the religious wars, and carried out a series of reforms to improve the finances and promote prosperity. In foreign affairs he abandoned the policy which had made France a mere satellite of Spain, and directed his efforts toward weakening the overgrown power of the Hapsburg house. His rule was eminently wise, and he was the most popular king France ever had. Extreme Catholics, however, remained irreconcilable; and in 1610, as his

carriage was passing through the streets of Paris, Henry was stabbed to death by a religious fanatic. A period of disorder followed, in which the Huguenots again took up arms; but the struggle was now primarily political, and not religious.

The English Reformation was largely the work of the Tudor dynasty, which ascended the throne at the close of the Wars of the Roses in 1485 (§ 217). Thirty years of intermittent civil war had greatly weakened the nobles, while the Commons desired nothing so much as peace and orderly government. Henry VII. (1485–1509), the first of the Tudor line, was thus enabled to make the crown almost despotic. His son, Henry VIII. (1509–1547), was educated in the atmosphere of the Renaissance, but turned his attention as king to plans of foreign war. His alliance was eagerly sought by both Francis I. and Charles V., and his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, raised England to a position of importance among European nations. A book which Henry wrote against Luther led the Pope to give him the title (still borne by English sovereigns) of "Defender of the Faith"; but a few years later Henry embarked upon a course which ended by separating England as a nation from the Roman Catholic Church.

275. England under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. (1485–1547)

The English Reformation differs from that in Continental countries in two ways: (1) it was begun and its course controlled by the government, the people for the most part passively following; (2) the church which resulted was more of a compromise between the old and the new, its doctrine being Protestant, while its ritual and government were largely Catholic.

276. Henry VIII. and the Reformation (1529–1547)

The ground for the Reformation in England had long been prepared. Resistance to the papacy was embodied in the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire (§171), and the labors of Wyclif and the Renaissance movement combined to break the hold of the Catholic Church. The actual separation from Rome came from the desire of Henry VIII. to have his mar-

riage with Catherine of Aragon, with whom he had lived for eighteen years, declared void, in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn, with whom he was infatuated. When Pope Clement VII. refused to grant this, Henry procured the annulment from Cranmer, his Archbishop of Canterbury, and proclaimed Anne queen, in defiance of the Pope.

In November, 1534, the separation from Rome was made complete by an act of Parliament declaring the English king to be "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England"; the authority which the Pope had exercised was divided between the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The monasteries were dissolved (1536 and 1539), on the ground that they were hopelessly corrupt, and their property was given in large part to laymen. Two important results followed from this step: (1) the abbots were removed from the House of Lords, and the power of the ecclesiastical peers was reduced; and (2) the nobles and gentry who received grants of monastic land became zealous supporters of the Reformation.

Adams and Stephens, Documents, no. 148

Armor of Henry VIII.

In Tower of London. Belongs to period of feudal decadence, when armor was largely for show, and tournaments were usually harmless spectacles.

277. Tyranny of Henry VIII.

While repudiating the papal headship, Henry clung tenaciously to Catholic doctrine, and put to death impartially those who denied his supremacy in the church and those who professed Protestant views. Sir Thomas More, one of the noblest char-

acters in English history, was sent to the block for refusing to acknowledge, in explicit terms, the king's supremacy. Henry was equally ready to punish other offenses against his arbitrary will. Cardinal Wolsey, who had been deprived of power because of his inability to secure a papal annulment of the king's first marriage, escaped imprisonment in the Tower only by his timely death (1530). His successor, Thomas Cromwell, was beheaded for negotiating an unsatisfactory marriage for his royal master (1540). Henry was six times married, two of his queens being divorced, and two (including Anne Boleyn) executed for misconduct. He was a strong monarch, under whom England prospered; but he was tyrannical and cruel, and it is estimated that seventy thousand persons — rebels, Protestants, and Roman Catholics — perished by his orders.

Henry VIII. left one son and two daughters, each by a different marriage (see genealogy, p. 317). His son, Edward VI., aged nine years, succeeded him. The government at first was carried on by the king's uncle, the Duke of Somerset; but after a time he was overthrown and executed by his rival, the Duke of Northumberland. Somerset from conviction, and Northumberland from selfish motives, favored Protestantism; and under Edward VI. the Reformation was carried into the field of doctrine and ritual. Under the guidance of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Book of Common Prayer in English was framed, the clergy were permitted to marry, and a Protestant creed was adopted; to assist in this work, Protestant divines from the Continent were called into consultation. These changes went beyond the desires of the nation, and rebellions broke out, but were easily suppressed. The young king, from whose precocious intelligence much was expected, died at the age of fifteen.

278. Edward VI. (1547–1553)

By hereditary right, and by a will left by Henry VIII., Edward's half-sister Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was next in succession. She was a Catholic, and Northumber-

land plotted to secure the succession for his son's wife, Lady Jane Grey, a Protestant girl of noble character, who was a granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s younger sister. The attempt failed, and Northumberland was executed; and ultimately the gentle Lady Jane and her young husband met the same fate.

279. Catholic restoration by Queen Mary (1553–1558)

Queen Mary (1553–1558) came to the throne amid great rejoicing, but when she died five years later she was hated by almost all her subjects. This was due not to the fact that she restored the Catholic religion, — for the majority of the English people were willing to accept the old worship, the old belief, and even the authority of the Pope, — but to her marriage with a foreigner, Philip II. of Spain, and to the rigid persecution of Protestants which she carried on. Her marriage proved unhappy, and her health was miserable; her mind perhaps was affected from these causes: persecution appeared to her a sacred duty. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was among the 277 Protestant martyrs. In foreign affairs Mary sided with Spain against France, and through delay in sending aid she allowed the French (in 1558) to take Calais — the last of the English possessions in France. A few months later her unhappy life ended, and her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne.

280. Religious settlement of Elizabeth (1558–1603)

The reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603), alike in its domestic legislation, its foreign policy, and its religious interest, was one of the most important in English history. This was due in part to the ability of her councilors, especially Lord Burghley (or Burleigh); still more was it due to her own character. She had her father's strength and imperious will, with her mother's vanity and fondness of display; but above all she was devoted to England's interest.

Elizabeth was without strong religious feeling either way; she had conformed to the Catholic religion during Mary's reign, but when herself in power she repealed Mary's Cath-

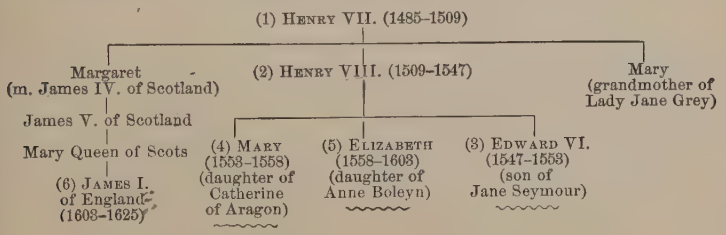
ELIZABETHA DEI GRACIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA FIDEI DEFENSOR
ELIZABETHA DEI GRACIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA FIDEI DEFENSOR

GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Elizabeth by God's grace queen of England, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith."

olic statutes, although she refused to restore unmodified her brother's legislation. The Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles issued by Elizabeth — both of which remain still in force — were based on similar works of Edward VI., but altered so as to give less offense to adherents of the old religion. She sought to include Catholics and Protestants in one national church, shaped by the royal will. In large measure her attempt was successful, though extremists of both communions caused trouble. (1) Extreme Catholics claimed, on the ground of the nullity of Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, that the crown should go to Mary Queen of Scots,[1] and plotted Elizabeth's overthrow. More than 175

[1] The claims of Mary Queen of Scots, which she transmitted to the Stuart line, are shown in the following genealogy: —


(1) HENRY VII. (1485–1509)
Margaret (m. James IV. of Scotland)
(2) HENRY VIII. (1509–1547)
Mary (grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V. of Scotland
Mary Queen of Scots
(6) JAMES I. of England (1603–1625)
(4) MARY (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) ELIZABETH (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) EDWARD VI. (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

Catholic priests and laymen were put to death in her reign for refusing to conform to the new religion. (2) Protestant extremists, called Puritans, were intensely loyal, but were dissatisfied that Elizabeth did not go further in religious change. Many of them had fled to the Continent during Mary's persecutions, and now returned filled with the ideas of Calvin and the Genevan Reformation; in spite of Elizabeth's attempts at repression, their number and importance increased greatly, until at the end of the reign they constituted a considerable party.

281. Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland (1560–1587)

In Scotland the Reformation was established, about 1560, largely through the efforts of John Knox, a man of intense force and fearlessness and rigidly Calvinistic views. Mary Queen of Scots, who succeeded to her father's throne (1542) when only a few days old, was educated under French influences, and became the bride of Francis II. She had no children in France, and upon her husband's death, in 1560, she returned to her native land.

The Scots at this time were rude, ignorant, and backward in civilization; while Mary was pleasure-loving, vivacious, and an ardent Catholic. Her second marriage, with her cousin Lord Darnley, proved unhappy, and within two years Darnley was murdered; whether Mary was concerned in the deed or not, she allowed herself in a few months to marry Bothwell, the chief author of the crime. A revolt followed, in which Mary was forced to abdicate, and her infant son by Darnley became King James VI. Less than a year later (in 1568) Mary escaped from captivity, fled to England, and threw herself upon the generosity of Elizabeth.

The English queen could not forego the advantage which this step gave her against one who was a claimant of her throne, though she disliked to countenance rebellion. For nineteen years Mary was kept in honorable captivity. Plots were on foot with the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth through

the aid of a Spanish invasion, and setting Mary on the English throne; and the complicity of Mary in one of these, which English law made a capital offense, was at last proved. Elizabeth reluctantly signed Mary's death warrant, and early in 1587 the Queen of Scots was beheaded.

282. The Spanish Armada (1588)

Bold sailors like Sir Francis Drake — the first of Englishmen to circumnavigate the globe — had long been preying upon Spanish commerce in the New World, when assistance sent the Dutch by Elizabeth in their revolt against Spain (§ 292) produced open war. The first expedition prepared by Philip II. to attack England was prevented from sailing by Drake's daring raid into Cadiz harbor, where he "singed the king of Spain's beard" by destroying the ships and stores gathered there. The next year (1588) the Great Armada set sail; it numbered nearly one hundred and fifty ships, about half of them large, while the English fleet, though greater in numbers, was composed of much smaller vessels. The fight occurred in the Channel and off the Netherlands, where the superior seamanship of the English, together with their greater daring, gave them the advantage; and a tempest completed the work which they began. Out of Spain's vast Armada, only sixty-seven vessels returned home. This victory ended the danger of a Catholic restoration by Spanish arms.

283. English literature

In many directions, Elizabeth's reign witnessed an outburst of English energy such as the world had never seen. In no line was this more true than in literature. The poet Spenser, the philosopher Bacon, and the dramatists Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson, with many others, made this the golden age of English letters. Such activity no doubt was the result of many causes, long in preparation; but one of these was certainly the freedom of thought and intellectual stimulus which came with the religious Reformation.

284. Summary

The Swiss Reformation, begun at Zurich by Zwingli (died 1531), was continued at Geneva by Calvin (died 1564); it was more radical than the German Reformation, producing the Calvinistic theology, the Presbyterian mode of church government, and the Puritanic ideal of life; and to Geneva, after Luther's death (1546), passed the Protestant headship which had belonged to Wittenberg. A Counter Reformation of the Catholic Church, meanwhile, was carried through by the Council of Trent (1545–1563); and resistance to Protestantism was organized in the Jesuit order, founded by Loyola in 1540.

In France a reformation, affecting mainly the upper and middle classes, began with Lefèvre about 1512. Political as well as religious causes produced the eight Huguenot wars (1560–1589), which ended with the accession of Henry IV., who renounced Protestantism (1593), and issued the Edict of Nantes (1598), granting to Huguenots political and religious equality with Catholics.

In England Henry VIII., to secure a divorce which the Pope refused, broke the ties which bound England to the papacy (1529–1534), but upheld Catholic doctrines. Edward VI. (1547–1553) introduced Protestant doctrines and worship; Mary (1553–1558) restored Catholicism; and Elizabeth (1558–1603) gave the English Church the modified Protestant character that it bears to-day. Scotland adopted Calvinistic Protestantism; and Mary, the Catholic Queen of Scots, deposed and fleeing captivity at home, was put to death in England (1587) for plotting to obtain the English throne. The defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) insured England against Catholic conquest.

Of the other countries that had recognized the Pope, Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden became Protestant; the Netherlands and Germany were divided; Italy and Spain remained Catholic; and Poland and Bohemia, after adopting Protestantism, were later won back to the Catholic Church.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) How did the fact that Germany was a confederation of sovereign principalities, Switzerland a league of republican cantons, and France and England centralized monarchies, affect the outcome of the Reformation in each? (2) Why were the forest cantons of Switzerland more likely to remain Catholic? (3) Who was to blame for the failure of the Swiss and German reformers to unite? (4) Compare Calvin's ideas of church government with those of Luther. (5) What Protestant churches of to-day are governed according to Calvin's plan? (6) Why did the Council of Trent succeed in carrying through reform measures which had failed at Pisa, Constance, and Basel? (7) Would the reforms of the Council of Trent have satisfied the reformers if enacted a century earlier? (8) What advantages did the Jesuit order have over earlier religious orders? (9) How do you account for the number of assassinations in the religious wars of France? (10) Was the English Church Catholic or Protestant at the death of Henry VIII.? At the death of Edward VI.? At the death of Mary? At the death of Elizabeth? (11) Mark on an outline map the extent of the territories which revolted from Rome.

Search topics

(12) Zwingli. (13) Calvin. (14) Servetus. (15) Council of Trent. (16) Loyola. (17) Coligny. (18) Henry of Navarre. (19) Henry VIII. of England. (20) Suppression of the English monasteries. (21) English Reformation under Edward VI. (22) Persecution under Queen Mary. (23) Elizabeth. (24) John Knox. (25) Mary Queen of Scots. (26) The Great Armada.

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See maps, pp. 284, 285, 249; Gardiner, *School Atlas*, maps 22, 23; Freeman, *Historical Geography*, II. (Atlas), map 25; Poole, *Historical Atlas*, map viii.; Dow, *Atlas*, xvii. xviii.

Secondary authorities

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1568–1648)

By the year 1568 the Reformation had crystallized into permanent form. Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin, Charles V. and Loyola, had completed their work and passed away. Protestantism had developed its characteristic doctrines; Catholicism had established its Counter Reformation. A struggle for the mastery followed, of which the Huguenot wars of France were an important episode; but its chief centers were the Netherlands and Germany. In the Netherlands, political and religious tyranny produced a revolt against Spanish rule, which was accompanied in the northern provinces by a rejection of the Roman Catholic religion; in Germany increased religious tension and schemes of political aggrandizement led to a war, lasting for nearly a generation, which involved practically all the nations of western Europe.

285. Character of the period

The Netherlands, when they came into the hands of Charles V., were a group of seventeen distinct provinces loosely bound together. The northern were Dutch in speech and race; the southern were Flemish and Walloon. The States-General, a federal legislature which met from time to time, had little real power; everything rested with the separate provinces.

286. Condition of the Netherlands

The wealth and prosperity which had marked the Flemish cities in the Middle Ages now characterized the Netherlands as a whole. Their land was undisturbed by war; their ports

THE NETHERLANDS, ABOUT 1650.

were well situated for ocean commerce; capital accumulated rapidly. Far more than Spain itself, the Netherlands profited by the enormous influx of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru; and from the Portuguese discovery of India they drew the greater share of commercial gains. Flemish and Dutch fleets were found on every sea. Antwerp, in the sixteenth

century, held the place that Bruges had held in the fourteenth, and often two hundred and fifty vessels lay at once at its docks; its bankers succeeded to the financial leadership left vacant by the decline of the great banking houses of Florence and Augsburg. Every city of the Netherlands was noted for some branch of manufacture: as Lille for its woolen cloth, and Brussels for its tapestries and carpets. Well-watered meadows, protected by dikes from the encroaching sea, enabled the northern provinces to produce butter and cheese famous for their quality. Agriculture was improved by minute and patient cultivation; and the fisheries flourished.

287. Government of Charles V. and Philip II.

Charles V. was himself Flemish born, and cherished the Netherlands more than any other part of his dominions; but he adopted measures of rigid repression when Protestantism crept in from Germany and France. In 1550 he issued an edict threatening death "by pit, fire, or sword" to all heretics and their adherents. Many were executed, but there was no stirring of revolt; for Protestantism as yet was not widespread, and there were no political grievances to swell the religious discontent.

A change, however, came when Charles resigned the government to his son, Philip II. With Spanish obstinacy and bigotry, Philip throughout his reign (1556–1598) sought to put down heresy everywhere, — in France, in England, in Germany, as well as in his own dominions, — and to extend the Spanish power. He placed his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, over the Netherlands as regent; and though her rule was wise and moderate compared with what came later, the edict of 1550 was put in force with greater severity, Spanish troops were kept in the land contrary to promise, and it was proposed, without consulting the States-General, to make an ecclesiastical reorganization which would increase the power of the crown and strengthen the Inquisition. Protestants and Catholics alike united in opposing this measure, and at

their head appeared one of the greatest statesmen produced by that age.

William of Orange-Nassau was born a Lutheran and a German; but upon succeeding at the age of eleven to the principality of Orange (in southern France) and the possessions of his family in the Netherlands, he was educated as a Catholic. He won his surname, "the Silent," from the skill with which he masked his indignation when the French king (in 1559) began to speak to him, as to one fully informed, of an agreement made with Philip II. for rooting out heresy in the Netherlands. "From that hour," wrote William twenty years later, "I resolved with my whole soul to do my best to drive this Spanish vermin from the land."

288. William of Orange

WILLIAM THE SILENT.
From an old print.

At first the opposition to Philip's measures was entirely constitutional. With William of Orange were associated Egmont, Horn, and other nobles. Philip was obliged to promise a redress of some grievances, but accompanied this with a secret protest before a notary that he should not feel bound by his promise. The opposition became more widespread, and the name "The Beggars" was adopted, from a slighting remark of one of Philip's ministers. Popular riots broke out in which hundreds of churches were stripped of their rich images and shrines, and irreparable damage was done to art treasures. These excesses were doubly unfortunate, for they checked the patriotic enthusiasm of the Catholics, and also offended the Lutherans, who threw the blame upon Puritanic Calvinists.

In 1567 Philip sent to the Netherlands as governor the Duke

of Alva, a stern, narrow-minded bigot. William of Orange withdrew for a time to Germany; but Egmont and Horn trusted to Philip's promises of amnesty, and remained. Both were immediately seized by Alva, and were executed on a charge of treason (1568). A tribunal popularly known as the "Council of Blood" was appointed to hunt down all persons suspected of heresy or participation in the late disorders: "From a judicial point of view the proceedings were a mere farce. Whole batches of the accused were condemned together offhand; and from one end of the Netherlands to the other the executioners were busy with stake, sword, and gibbet, until the whole land ran red with blood." Many emigrated, of whom sixty thousand sought refuge in England and more in Germany, to the profit of both lands from their industrial skill. The climax of tyranny was reached when Alva imposed a tax of ten per cent on all sales of goods — a measure which caused shops to close and trade to come to a standstill.

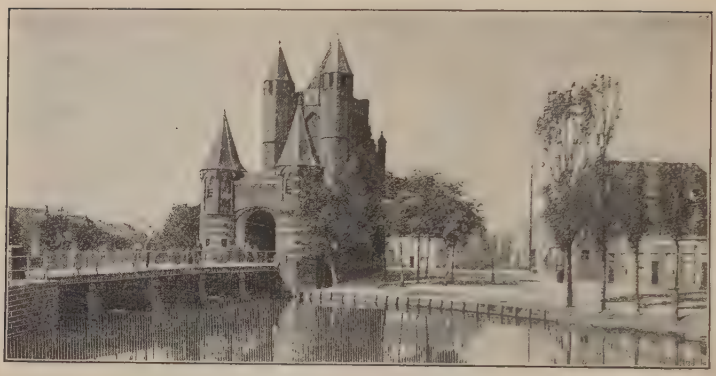
289. Alva's tyranny causes revolt (1568)

Cambridge Modern History, III. 217

Armed resistance began in 1568. In 1572 Brill, at the mouth of the river Meuse, was seized by a body of freebooters called "Beggars of the Sea"; and with this event was laid the foundation of the Free Netherlands. Town after town thereafter rose in revolt, the resistance centering especially in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where William of Orange was strongest. Among the novelties of the war was the use of skates in winter attacks and maneuvers. Places retaken by the Spaniards, such as Mechlin and Haarlem, were treated with ferocious cruelty; but this only nerved the Netherlanders to greater efforts.

290. War of liberation (1568–1578)

The complaints against Alva, and his failure to end the war, led to his recall in 1573. His successors carried on the war with greater moderation, but with no greater success. In 1574 the Spaniards laid siege to Leyden, situated on low ground, six miles from the sea: to raise the siege, the district was flooded



AMSTERDAM GATE, HAARLEM.
Built in mediæval times; restored in 1600.

by cutting the dikes, a gale swelled the tide, and Dutch barges loaded with men and supplies relieved the town.

In 1576 the Spanish troops mutinied at Antwerp, because of the lack of pay, and sacked the city with savage cruelty: "Not in all the cruel and bloodstained annals of the Netherland troubles are any pages to be found more filled with horrors than those which tell the story of the 'Spanish Fury' at Antwerp." This outrage led the southern provinces, which had remained Catholic, to unite with the Calvinist provinces of the north, under an instrument called the Pacification of Ghent. By its terms the Spaniards were to be expelled and William of Orange accepted as "stadtholder" (or lieutenant governor) under the nominal sovereignty of Philip II.; the religious difficulty was postponed.

Cambridge Modern History, III., 246

Under a new regent, Duke Alexander of Parma (1578–1592), a policy of sowing distrust between the northern and the southern provinces was successfully carried on, and a permanent division of the Netherlands on racial and religious lines was the result. The ten southern provinces (now Belgium) were restored to Catholicism and to

291. Northern provinces gain independence (1578–1584)

Spain; and the seven northern provinces then united in the Union of Utrecht (1579). Finally, on July 26, 1581, a formal declaration of independence was issued, and the United Netherlands (now Holland, or the Netherlands), under William of Orange, emerged as a separate nation. This is said to be "the first great example of a whole people officially renouncing allegiance to their hereditary and consecrated monarch"; it was by two generations in advance of the English Commonwealth (§ 348), and by two centuries in advance of the American and French republics.

In 1580 Philip put a price on William's head; and in 1584 an assassin, animated by religious fanaticism no less than by hope of reward for his family, shot and mortally wounded him. As the struggle with Spain developed, William had thrown off Catholicism and accepted Calvinism. "Throughout he acted as politician, not as theologian. He was a diplomatist, not a reformer; a statesman, not a preacher; a man of the world, not a saint. As he passed into middle life and the terrific struggle which absorbed and killed him, he grew to a deeper conscience and a more spiritual temper." His place, like that of Washington, is firmly fixed among the creators of nations.

Harrison, William the Silent, 32

After William's death, Jan van Olden Barneveldt, as advocate-general of Holland, largely directed the policy of the United Netherlands. William's son, Maurice, was appointed stadtholder, and displayed remarkable military capacity in the field; but he was unable to prevent the capture of Antwerp and other places by the Duke of Parma. Henry III. of France and Elizabeth of England each refused the proffered sovereignty of the United Provinces, though Elizabeth, after long delay, sent troops to their assistance.

292. Close of the struggle in the Netherlands (1584–1648)

The reconquest of the Netherlands was hindered by Philip's alliance with the League in France (§ 273), as well as by his war with England (§ 282). His successor, Philip III. (1598–1621),

carried on the war in the Netherlands until 1609, when a truce for twelve years was agreed to. Dissensions now arose between Maurice, who aspired to hereditary sovereignty in Holland and sided with the Calvinists in religious quarrels, and Barneveldt, who was leader of the aristocratic republicans and championed what was known as the Arminian cause in religion (§ 339). A synod held at Dort condemned the Arminians, and unjustly and illegally sentenced Barneveldt to death — a sentence which his enemy, Maurice, at once carried out. In spite of these political and religious quarrels, the Dutch finally triumphed; for before the truce of 1609 expired, the Thirty Years' War began in Germany, and they no longer stood alone. The independence of the seven United Provinces was formally recognized by Spain in 1648, just before the Peace of Westphalia.

293. Causes of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)

The causes of the great German civil war, which lasted thirty years, from 1618 to 1648, lay in (1) the increased strength of Catholicism due to the Counter Reformation, and (2) the opportunities for dispute left by the religious peace of Augsburg (§ 257). Interpreting strictly the terms of the treaty, ecclesiastical princes banished Protestants from Bamberg, from Paderborn, and from the three great Rhenish electorates — Mainz, Cologne, and Treves; and the example thus set was followed in the Hapsburg lands (Styria and Austria), and in Bavaria. The treaty, moreover, did not provide toleration for Calvinism, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Calvinists of the upper Rhineland found their worship in danger of forcible suppression. The Lutheran rulers of North Germany, in turn, were threatened with a demand for the restitution of Catholic church lands seized since 1552. In these circumstances the forcible extinction of Protestantism in a free city on the Danube (Donauwörth) led to the organization, in 1608, of the Protestant Union under Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, a rash, ambitious Calvinist; and the next

year a Catholic League was formed, under Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria — one of the richest and ablest princes of Germany.

For ten years the impending struggle was averted; when it finally came, it manifested itself in four successive phases, each of which was practically a separate war: (1) the Bohemian-Palatinate phase (1618–1623); (2) the Danish phase (1625–1629); (3) the Swedish phase (1630–1635); (4) the Swedish-French phase (1635–1648).

(I.) The first phase of the war began with a rebellion of Protestant nobles in Bohemia. The teachings of Huss (§ 228) had prepared the way for the Reformation there, and nine tenths of the inhabitants became opponents of Rome; in 1609 the Emperor Rudolph II. (grandson of Ferdinand I.) was forced to grant toleration by a royal charter. In 1617 Rudolph's successor, Matthias, surprised the Bohemian Diet into an agreement by which that kingdom, together with Austria and Hungary, was to pass to his cousin Ferdinand of Styria, a rigid Catholic. Repentance followed swift upon consent; and in May, 1618, a party of Protestant nobles at Prague flung

294. Bohemian-Palatinate phase of the war (1618–1623)

BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
Throwing the king's regents out of the windows at Prague.

Ferdinand's regents from the lofty windows of the council chamber, both marvelously escaping with their lives. The authors of this rebellion showed little of the heroism which marked the Dutch in their struggle; they were only a faction, fighting for license and for power under the sacred names of liberty, patriotism, and religion, and from the first they showed an unwillingness to tax themselves to pay the costs of war.

In August, Ferdinand was declared by the Bohemians deposed from their throne, and it was offered to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, with the hope that he would bring to the struggle not only the resources of the Palatinate, but also those of England, since he was son-in-law to King James I. (1603–1625). This expectation was disappointed, for James's assistance was confined to ineffectual negotiations. Ten days after Frederick's election his rival, through dissensions between Calvinist and Lutheran electors, was chosen Emperor as Ferdinand II. (1619–1637).

With the assistance of Maximilian of Bavaria and the king of Spain, Ferdinand carried on a vigorous warfare against his rival, while the German Lutherans remained neutral. In November, 1620, Frederick was defeated near Prague by Maximilian's general, Tilly, and was driven from Bohemia; the prophecy of the Jesuits that he would prove only a "winter king" was thus fulfilled. The Palatinate, meanwhile, was overrun by the Spaniards. In Bohemia the leaders of the revolt were executed, their lands confiscated, and Protestantism relentlessly rooted out; thus one more land was permanently added to those won back to Catholicism by the Counter Reformation.

295. Failure of Bohemian revolution (1620)

Maximilian of Bavaria was the person to whom the success achieved was chiefly due; his army won the victories, his head directed the policy, his purse paid the soldiers: and in 1623 he received his reward in the transfer to him of Frederick's vote in the electoral college (§ 211), together with a part of

Frederick's dominions. The first period of the war closed with the Catholics completely triumphant.

(II.) The tenacity with which Frederick clung to his claims, and the jealousies aroused by the successes of Ferdinand and the League, led to the continuance of the war. Non-German Protestant powers now began to play a leading part. In 1625 Christian IV. of Denmark agreed, on the promise of money aid from England, to take the field at the head of the Protestant forces, although the Lutheran Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg continued neutral.

296. Danish phase of the war (1625–1629)

Ferdinand now accepted the offer of a Bohemian nobleman named Wallenstein (Waldstein), to raise a force of 20,000 men to be supported by a series of requisitions on the German states. Wallenstein was not merely a great general, but a statesman as well; he wished to shut out foreign interference, centralize power in the Emperor, and grant toleration to all creeds.

Musketeer of Thirty Years' War.

Showing gun rest in right hand, and burning "match," with which to fire the charge, in left.

Adventurers from all quarters flocked to Wallenstein's standard, and within a few months he had at his command, not 20,000 but 50,000 troops. The armies of the Thirty Years' War, like those of the Middle Ages, were without uniforms; to distinguish friends from foes, bands of white or red cloth were worn on the arm, hat, or cap. Soldiers often took their women and children with them on the march, and at times an army of 40,000 fighting men drew along with it a motley host of 140,000 camp followers. Troops and followers often appeared like hordes of beggars or famishing vagrants; but after the sack of a city or a successful marauding expedition,

they adorned themselves with fine fabrics and gold and silver ornaments.

Against the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein the Danish king could do little, especially as Charles I., the new king of England (1625–1649), found himself unable, owing to quarrels with his Parliament, to carry out his father's promise. Northern Germany was overrun; but Stralsund, on the Baltic Sea, successfully withstood Wallenstein's attack. The war was then carried into Denmark itself, and in 1629 Christian IV. was glad to sign a treaty leaving to him his hereditary territories, on condition that he withdraw from the German contest.

The withdrawal of Denmark was followed by two events which profoundly influenced the subsequent course of the war.

297. Edict of Restitution, and dismissal of Wallenstein (1629-1630)

(1) In March, 1629, Ferdinand issued an Edict of Restitution, enforcing the strict Catholic interpretation of the peace of Augsburg: all ecclesiastical property seized by Protestants since 1552 was to be surrendered, and toleration was limited to Lutherans. This edict menaced rights enjoyed for from fifty to eighty years, and aroused to resistance even the lethargic John George of Saxony and the Elector of Brandenburg. (2) The Catholic princes had long been restive under Wallenstein's policy, and in July, 1630, they forced the Emperor to dismiss him. This step was taken at a time when King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the greatest military genius of the age, had already landed on German shores to champion the Protestant cause.

298. Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus

(III.) From 1397 until the time of the Reformation, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united in the Union of Calmar. Under the house of Vasa, Sweden revolted (1523), established its independence, and adopted the Lutheran Reformation. When Gustavus Adolphus became king (in 1611), he inherited three foreign wars: (1) with Denmark, which held the southern part of Sweden and controlled the

entrance to the Baltic Sea; (2) with Russia, which, under the newly arisen house of Romanoff, was beginning to threaten Swedish dominance in the Baltic; (3) with King Sigismund of Poland, who claimed the throne of Sweden. From all three wars Gustavus issued victorious and with substantial gains; but when imperial forces were established near Stralsund, he found his Baltic supremacy threatened from a new source. Motives of political interest, therefore, as well as a sincere desire to aid his fellow Protestants, impelled him to intervene in German affairs.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Gustavus landed on the coast of Pomerania in July, 1630. Catholic France, under her great minister Richelieu, was eager to humble the Hapsburg power, and agreed to furnish money to pay his troops. The vacillating Elector of Brandenburg was forced into alliance by the appearance of the Swedish army before Berlin; and John George of Saxony was forced from his neutrality by Ferdinand's senseless demand that he dismiss his troops or else oppose Gustavus in the field: when compelled to choose, he chose the Protestant side. The city of Magdeburg meantime fell into the hands of Tilly's soldiers and was sacked and burned: soldiers and citizens, men and women, old and young, were mercilessly butchered; even in that time the deed caused a thrill of horror.

299. Swedish phase of the war (1630–1635)

BATTLE OF BREITENFELD.

At Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, Gustavus in September, 1631, won an over-

whelming victory over Tilly. With all North Germany at his feet, Gustavus then advanced to the relief of the Protestants of the center and south, his route (p. 339) lying along the "Priests' Lane," as the row of bishoprics of the Main and Rhine valleys was called. In the spring of 1632 he entered Bavaria, after a skirmish in which Tilly was mortally wounded; and Munich, Maximilian's capital, was occupied. The Saxons, meanwhile, overran Bohemia. The one resource left to the Emperor, short of submission, was to recall Wallenstein, who made his own terms: the Edict of Restitution was to be withdrawn, and Wallenstein was to be practically the military and political dictator of Germany.

Within a few months Wallenstein was again at the head of an army, and the Saxons were driven headlong out of Bohemia.

300. Gustavus's death (1632)

At Nuremberg Gustavus vainly endeavored to entice him into battle, and at length the Swedish king retired northward. At Lützen Gustavus succeeded in trapping Wallenstein into fighting. The battle was mainly a hand-to-hand conflict, in which the superior discipline of the Swedes won the day; but the victory was at the cost of the life of their king, who fell, riddled with balls, while leading a charge of cavalry (November 16, 1632).

Gustavus was the greatest general of his time; he was the first of modern commanders to supply his army from a fixed base, instead of subsisting upon the country; and the strict discipline of his troops was in marked contrast to the lawless violence of the imperial forces. His death was an irreparable loss, not merely to his country, but to the Protestant cause; for he was the one man who could unite German Protestants and successfully withstand the ambitions of France and the fanaticism of the Emperor Ferdinand. When he fell, "all moral and religious ideal died out of the Thirty Years' War."

Wallenstein now sought to impose a peace upon Emperor,

Swedes, and Saxons alike. How far his designs extended, and whether he was actually guilty of treason, it is difficult to say: at all events, the jealousy of Ferdinand was aroused, and a proclamation was issued deposing him from his command and setting a price upon his head. Wallenstein counted upon the devotion of his army; but at Eger he was murdered by four of his own officers (February, 1634). In the same year the imperialists won a decisive victory at Nördlingen, which insured that southern Germany should remain Catholic. In the next year (May, 1635) the Elector of Saxony concluded with the Emperor the peace of Prague, which settled satisfactorily the question of church lands, but failed to provide toleration for Calvinists; this failure, and the ambitious designs of France and Sweden, protracted the war for more than a decade longer.

301. Assassination of Wallenstein (1634)

(IV.) In 1635 France declared war against Spain, and began a policy of more active intervention. Thenceforth the character of the struggle was profoundly changed; religion played less part, and politics more and more. The struggle now consists of a series of separate wars, centering in the great contest between the Bourbon house of France and the Hapsburg houses of Spain and Austria. The theater of the war was Germany, Italy, the Netherlands; its objects, the humiliation of the Hapsburgs, and the extension of France to the northeast. Under the guidance of her great ministers, Richelieu and (after his death in 1642) Mazarin, France more and more gained the ascendency, through her generals Turenne and Condé. The power of Spain was broken; Germany was rendered desolate.

302. Swedish-French phase of the war (1635–1648)

After five years of tedious negotiations, with interminable disputes about questions of etiquette, peace was signed at Münster, in Westphalia, in 1648. The peace of Augsburg, with its principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* (§ 257), was confirmed, and extended so as to include Calvinists as well

303. Peace of Westphalia (1648)

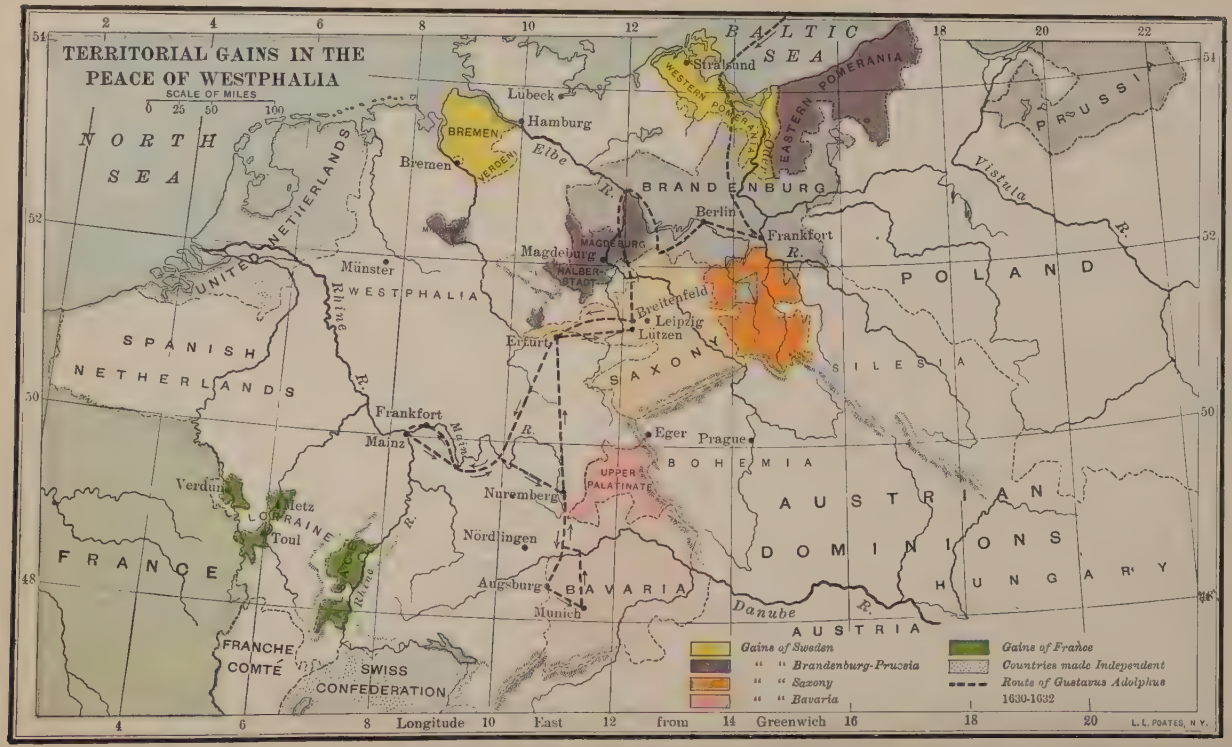
as Lutherans; and Catholics and Protestants were to share alike in the administration of the empire. The church lands were to remain as they were in the year 1624, thereby securing to Protestantism the secularized lands of the north, while leaving to Catholicism the victories gained by the Counter Reformation in Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria.

More difficult of settlement were the political questions. Maximilian of Bavaria was allowed to retain his electorate and his annexations from the Palatinate; but the heir of the unfortunate Frederick was given a new vote in the electoral college (the eighth), together with the remnant of his father's dominions. Sweden received as imperial fiefs extensive territories on the German coasts of the Baltic and North seas. France obtained Alsace, and was confirmed in practically sovereign possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (§ 256). Saxony, Brandenburg, and other German states received compensations. Finally, the United Netherlands (Holland) and the Swiss Confederation were recognized as completely independent of the empire.

Pope Innocent X. refused to sanction the treaties, and pronounced null and void the concessions to Protestants; but his protests went unheeded, and from this time papal influence in international politics of Europe practically ceases. The importance of the peace of Westphalia was very great, for it marked the close of one epoch and the opening of another. The long series of religious wars growing out of the Reformation was now at an end; there begins a new period of international rivalry and war, marked by the ascendency of France.

304. Condition of Germany in 1648

Seldom has warfare wrought more suffering and desolation than did the Thirty Years' War. From its effects Germany did not recover for two centuries. The population, which in 1618 numbered between twenty and thirty millions, sank to about one half; Augsburg fell from 80,000 to 18,000, Berlin from 25,000 to 6000. Commerce and


TERRITORIAL GAINS IN THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Lübeck
Hamburg
BREMEN
VERDEN
Bremen
Elbe R.
BRANDENBURG
Vistula R.
Berlin
Frankfort
MAGDEBURG
Magdeburg
HALBERSTADT
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Münster
WESTPHALIA
POLAND
Breitenfeld
Leipzig
Lützen
Erfurt
SAXONY
SILESIA
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Rhine R.
Frankfort
Mainz
Main R.
Eger
Prague
BOHEMIA
Verdun
Metz
Toul
LORRAINE
UPPER PALATINATE
Nuremberg
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Nördlingen
FRANCE
Augsburg
BAVARIA
Munich
HUNGARY
Danube R.
AUSTRIA
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Gains of Sweden
" " Brandenburg-Prussia
" " Saxony
" " Bavaria
Gains of France
Countries made Independent
Route of Gustavus Adolphus 1630-1632
Longitude East from Greenwich
L. L. POATES, N. Y.

industry were annihilated. The Hanseatic League, already declining, was broken up, and the separate towns (except Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen) passed under the rule of neighboring princes. "How miserable are the cities," writes a contemporary; "how wretched the smaller towns and open country! They lie, burned, ruined, destroyed, with neither roof, rafters, doors, or windows to be seen. How has it fared with the churches? They have been burned, or converted into stables for horses or booths for sutlers' stores; their altars have been plundered and their bells carried off. O God, how lamentable are the villages! One may wander for ten miles and see not a human being, not an ox, not a sparrow." The introduction about this time of the potato from America, as a chief article of food in Germany, did something to check the terrible decline of population.

Richter, Quellenbuch, no. 110

The political condition of the empire was equally discouraging. In form there was still an Emperor, imperial Diet, and imperial court of justice; in fact, everything rested with the separate states, of which (including the free cities) there were several hundred. They made their own laws, coined money, maintained armies, sent representatives to other courts, and could form foreign alliances, except against the empire or Emperor. All sense of patriotism in Germany was stifled. France was now the center of fashion in literature, art, dress, and court etiquette; and each petty German princeling aped the court of Versailles.

305. The decline of Spain

By a separate treaty, in 1648, Spain acknowledged the independence of the United Netherlands (Holland); but she refused to give her assent to other provisions of the peace of Westphalia, and for eleven years longer the Franco-Spanish war dragged on, until ended by the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. Spain's position in the middle of the seventeenth century was much lower than it had been at the beginning of the sixteenth. The German Hapsburg lands,

with the imperial office, were now in the hands of the younger branch of the family (§ 258); the Dutch Netherlands had successfully revolted; and Portugal, which in 1581 had been made a Spanish province, regained its independence under the house of Braganza in 1640.

These external losses were accompanied by internal decay, the result of many causes. The constant wars in which the ambitious plans of Charles V. and Philip II. involved Spain weakened her resources in men and in money. The Inquisition, which stamped out with relentless intolerance all opposition to church or crown, undermined freedom of thought and of initiative. The expulsion of the Christian descendants of the Moors (called "Moriscoes"), in 1609, reduced the population by hundreds of thousands; from twenty millions under Moorish rule, the population of Spain declined in the sixteenth century to six millions. The flood of gold and silver brought in from the new world proved as much of a curse as a blessing. With slavery, it bred a contempt for honest labor, and produced a false system of political economy — the "mercantile" system — under which the efforts of government were directed chiefly to increasing the stock of precious metals, instead of fostering trade and industry. The Spanish character, with its intolerance, pride, and southern indolence, contributed to the decline. Finally, after the death of Philip II., its kings were mere figureheads, and its ministers incompetent favorites. Under Charles V. Spain was the first state of Europe, and her might overshadowed the world; a hundred years later she had declined to a third-rate power.

The period of Spain's political decline was nevertheless an epoch of great literary and artistic excellence. Cervantes (died 1616) wrote his inimitable satire on chivalry, *Don Quixote*; and Lope de Vega (died 1635) and Calderon (died 1681) founded the Spanish drama. In painting, Velasquez (died 1660) and Murillo (died 1682) created a Spanish school

of art whose works rank in excellence with the best productions of Italy and the Netherlands.

The fall of Henry IV. of France by the assassin's dagger (§ 274) was followed by fifteen years of anarchy and disorder.

306. France under Louis XIII. (1610–1643) Henry's son, Louis XIII. (1610–1643), was but nine years old, and the regency passed into the hands of the queen mother, Marie de' Medici, a vain, weak, selfish woman. The policies of Henry IV. were abandoned; his minister, Sully, retired to private life; the great nobles resumed their places in the government, and favorite succeeded favorite. In 1614 the Estates-General were called together, for the last time, as it proved, until 1789; but selfishness pervaded their sessions, and no relief followed. To add to the disorder, the Huguenots rose in rebellion, with the hope of enlarging their political semi-independence. Only two persons seemed to place the interests of France above those of self and party: these were the slow, tenacious king, Louis XIII., and a young bishop called Richelieu — at first the protégé of the queen mother, soon to become chief minister of France.

Richelieu was the youngest child of a good family of Poitou. He was educated for the army, but entered the clergy and

307. Richelieu, chief minister (1626) secured a bishopric, through the king's favor to his family, at the age of twenty-two. From the first he devoted himself to securing political advancement. He was a member of the Estates-General of 1614, and as speaker for the clergy attracted public attention. In the struggle of French parties, he attached himself to the queen mother; and in 1622 her efforts secured for him from the Pope the title of cardinal. Four years later he was admitted to the council of state; and within a few months, by the ascendency of his spirit, he acquired a control over the administration and over the king which was to last until his death in 1642.

When Richelieu entered the royal service, as he once told Louis XIII., "the Huguenots divided the state with you, the

nobles conducted themselves as though they were not subjects, and the most powerful governors of provinces as if they were sovereign in their charges. I may add that foreign alliances were disdained. I promised your Majesty to employ all my efforts and all the authority which it might please you to give me, (1) to ruin the Huguenot party, (2) to lay low the pride of the nobility, and (3) to raise your renown among foreign nations to the point at which it ought to be."

RICHELIEU.

What Richelieu planned he achieved. In 1625 a new revolt of the Huguenots broke out, and after three years' struggle La Rochelle, the chief of their towns, was taken. The practice of granting them fortified towns as places of refuge was then abandoned; and although freedom of worship and civil liberty were left them, they were no longer to hold the position of a state within the state.

308. Richelieu's supremacy over the nobility (1625–1642)

The struggle with the turbulent nobility was of longer duration, but was no less successful, since he even put an end for a time to the practice of dueling, by which in eighteen years four thousand persons are said to have lost their lives. Until 1638, Louis's brother Gaston was heir presumptive to the throne, and with the aid of the queen (Anne of Austria), the queen mother, some of the great nobles, and the Spaniards, he again and again rebelled and strove to overthrow Richelieu. Once (in 1630) Louis yielded for a moment to the outcry and dismissed Richelieu; but after a few hours of this so-called "Day of Dupes," his good sense and patriotism reasserted themselves. "Continue to serve me

as you have done," said he, in restoring his minister, "and I will maintain you against all who have sworn your ruin."

Thenceforth, to the day of his death, there was no time when Richelieu's power was seriously endangered. Revolt and intrigue did not cease, but they injured only their authors: five dukes, four counts, and a marshal of France perished from this cause on the scaffold. The subjection of the nobility to the crown — for the time, at any rate — was complete. The destruction of feudal fortresses not needed for national defense, and the introduction of royal officers called *intendants* as a check upon the governors of provinces, helped to make permanent the political abasement of the nobility. In internal affairs, Richelieu's efforts were bent to two special objects — the establishment of a civil service directly under control of the crown, and the organization of the army on a professional basis.

Richelieu's promise to raise the renown of France abroad was also fulfilled. The crowning principle of his foreign policy was resistance to the Hapsburg houses of Austria and Spain, in order that France might expand to the limits of ancient Gaul. To this end he concluded alliances with Protestant states (England, Sweden, and the Netherlands) as readily as with Catholic Venice and Savoy. To cut off land communication between the Spanish Hapsburgs in northern Italy and their Austrian brethren, he used all his arts of diplomacy and war; and when the interests of France demanded it, he did not hesitate openly to take the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War (§ 302).

309. Richelieu's foreign policy

It is not too much to say that Richelieu gave to France national unity, secured for her religious peace, strengthened the monarchy, and raised it to the first position among the powers of Europe. The weakness of his policy was that he cared too much for the state, too little for the people; hence gross abuses in the finances and internal administration were

allowed to remain unchecked, and beneath the glamour of a brilliant court and military glory was the misery of a suffering nation.

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310. Summary

The hundred years from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth saw many important changes in Europe. Spain sank from the first place, and France under Richelieu rose to that rank. The Dutch Netherlands secured their religious and political freedom, and formed a federal republic which offered precedents in government to England and America. The Thirty Years' War — the last and most lamentable of the religious wars — was begun in the Bohemian revolution (1618) and was ended by the peace of Westphalia (1648), which confirmed the principles of the peace of Augsburg (1555), and admitted Calvinists to an equal footing with Lutherans. The struggle for religious mastery comes to an end with the balance of gain on the side of the Catholics; and religious toleration thenceforth slowly makes its way as the only practical solution of the difficulty.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was the revolt of the Netherlands more due to political or to religious causes? (2) To what were due the divisions which arose between the northern and the southern provinces? (3) To what was due the final success of the United Netherlands? (4) Were the causes of the Thirty Years' War more religious or political? (5) Why did not the Lutherans aid the Elector Palatine in the Bohemian-Palatinate phase of the war? (6) What finally led to union of the Protestants? (7) Which side was responsible for the continuance of the war after the downfall of the Elector Palatine? (8) How did the armies in the Thirty Years' War differ from those of to-day? (9) Was the Edict of Restitution wise or unwise? Why? (10) Was Gustavus Adolphus animated more by religious or by political policy in entering the war? (11) What effect did the war have upon the position of the Protestants in Germany? Upon the political constitution of the empire? (12) Was the Thirty Years' War a necessary or an unnecessary war? (13) To

what was due the rise in importance of France in this period? (14) How could Richelieu reconcile his policy of alliance with the German Protestants with his position as cardinal?

Search topics

(15) Character of Philip II. (16) Causes of the revolt of the Netherlands. (17) William of Orange. (18) "Spanish Fury" of 1576. (19) Barneveldt. (20) Causes of the Thirty Years' War. (21) Wallenstein. (22) Gustavus Adolphus. (23) The sack of Magdeburg. (24) The armies of the Thirty Years' War. (25) France and the Thirty Years' War. (26) Peace of Westphalia, with the negotiations leading to it. (27) Richelieu's private life and character.

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Geography

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Secondary authorities

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Illustrative works

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CHAPTER XX.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. (1643–1715)

As Richelieu lay dying, in December, 1642, he recommended to the king as his successor Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian who early left the papal service for that of France. Five months later (May, 1643) Louis XIII. himself passed away, leaving the throne to his son, Louis XIV., then less than five years old. Anne of Austria, the queen mother, was named regent; she confirmed Mazarin in office, and so long as he lived she supported him against the opposition of the Parlement of Paris (the chief judicial body of France), against the riots of the Parisian populace, and against the intrigues and rebellions of the French nobles.

311. Mazarin, chief minister of France (1642–1661)

Mazarin lacked the creative genius of Richelieu, but was well qualified to carry on an established system of government; the device upon his arms was "Time and I." In his love of dissimulation, his avarice, the advancement of his relatives, and his art collections of rare books and sculpture, he was thoroughly Italian. As a foreigner and the minister of a foreign queen, and as the continuer of a policy fatal to the nobility and oppressive to the people, he was violently hated. Nevertheless he is entitled to rank as a great minister by his triumphs in the closing scenes of the Thirty Years' War, by his victories over Spain, and by the success with which he maintained the authority of the crown.

In 1648 the opposition broke out in the frivolous war known as the "Fronde," a name derived from a game of Parisian street boys. The movement was twofold. (1) The Par-

312. The Fronde (1648–1653)

lement of Paris sought to secure a position similar to that which the English Parliament occupied (see ch. xxi.); this was impracticable owing to the fact that it was primarily a court of justice, not a legislature; and, instead of being representative, its seats were purchased and hereditary. The Parlement demanded that it should be given control of taxation, and that limits (similar to the English *habeas corpus* principle) be put upon the right of arbitrary arrest; but these demands, right and proper in principle, lacked the necessary foundation in French history and experience.

(2) The princely Fronde was animated by the purely selfish motive of restoring the old days of private anarchy and public plunder. Condé and Turenne, French generals in the Thirty Years' War (§ 302), fought in turn for the crown and against the crown, but always opposed to each other. Twice Mazarin was obliged to flee from France. In the end the court triumphed, the Parlement was forbidden to deal with affairs of state, and Mazarin returned to power. The whole movement was chiefly noteworthy as the last attempt to oppose the court by internal armed resistance; thenceforth, the nobility lost all political importance.

Louis XIV.

313. Louis XIV. becomes his own minister (1661)

In 1661 Mazarin died; and Louis XIV., who was then twenty years old, announced that "he had resolved to be his own minister, and that he was unwilling to have the least ordinance or the least passport signed without receiving his orders." The young king possessed considerable ability, was well trained, and worked with the greatest industry at what he called "his trade of king."

He had the external gifts of kingship in profusion, and discharged the ceremonial duties of his office with punctilious dignity, tact, and a refinement of behavior which made his court the model of Europe.

Under the inspiration of their master, trained and able ministers organized the foreign office, the internal administration, and the war department on principles which were subsequently adopted by the leading countries of Europe. The military innovations included uniforms to distinguish the different regiments; bayonets added to the muskets to take the place of pikes; marching in step; pontoon bridges; and the Hôtel des Invalides, a home for disabled soldiers. Vauban, the creator of the engineer corps, made many improvements in the art of fortifying and taking cities: "A city besieged by Vauban," says a proverb of the time, "is a captured city; a city defended by him, an impregnable one." For many years thereafter, the French army remained without an equal in Europe.

The internal administration was placed in the hands of Colbert, one of the greatest finance ministers that France ever produced. When he took charge of the finances there was no system of accounts, no thought of economy, and no check against dishonesty; hereditary offices were created for the sole purpose of selling them; taxes were "farmed out" on ruinous terms; of the vast sums collected from the people less than half found its way into the treasury; the revenues were spent two years before they were collected, and there were debts of large amounts drawing interest at exorbitant rates.

314. Colbert's finances

Out of this financial chaos Colbert soon brought order. The number of those exempted from taxes was reduced; the cost of collecting the revenues was cut down one half; the plunderers of the treasury were forced to disgorge; fraudulent certificates of debt were repudiated; and a proper system of

FRANCE: ACQUISITIONS OF LOUIS XIV.

bookkeeping was introduced. Within a year after taking office, Colbert was able to show a surplus of forty-five million francs, without having perceptibly increased the burdens of taxation.

In other ways, also, Colbert was active. Roads were improved and a system of canals constructed, of which the most important was one connecting the Atlantic with the Mediterranean. Manufactures were encouraged by a system of tariffs, bounties, and monopolies. Five great commercial companies were formed on the model of the Dutch and English East India companies. The navy and merchant marine were developed. The French colony of Canada — neglected by Richelieu — was fostered; many islands of the Antilles were acquired; and

steps were taken to occupy the Mississippi valley, which had just been explored by La Salle. The way was open for France at this time to secure the commercial and colonial supremacy of the world, — for the day of Spain and Portugal was over, the Dutch could not long withstand their more powerful neighbors, and the empire of England, chiefly the result of successful wars, was scarcely begun. But Louis XIV. preferred the traditional but disastrous path of military conquest.

A passion for fame and the desire to increase French territory in Europe were the dominant motives of Louis XIV., and produced the four wars of his reign. The first (1667–1668) had for its object the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and ended with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; the second (1672–1678) was directed against the Dutch Republic, and closed with the peace of Nimwegen; the third (1689–1697) was waged against a coalition of the states whose interests were threatened by Louis's aggressive policy, and ended with the peace of Ryswick; his fourth and greatest war (1701–1713) was over the succession to the Spanish throne, and was concluded by the peace of Utrecht.

315. Wars of Louis XIV. (1667–1713)

Louis's first war (1667–1668) is called the War of Devolution, from the claim on which it was based. An obscure custom of private inheritance in the Netherlands (styled the "right of devolution") provided that children of a first marriage should inherit to the exclusion of those of a second; and when Philip IV. of Spain died (1665), Louis XIV. advanced, on this flimsy ground, his wife's claim to the Spanish Netherlands (see genealogy, p. 358). The Dutch Netherlands, alarmed lest their turn should come next, concluded with England and Sweden a Triple Alliance (1668); and the prospect of their assistance to Spain induced Louis to sign the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he received twelve fortified towns on the borders of the Netherlands, and surrendered the rest of his conquests. Against "their High Mightinesses the States-

316. The War of Devolution (1667–1668)

General of the United Provinces," who had taken the chief part in balking him of his prey, Louis XIV. thenceforth cherished a lively resentment.

317. The Dutch Netherlands (1609-1667)

The prosperity of the Dutch Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century had continued undiminished: in America they colonized New York and New Jersey; in Asia they secured Ceylon and Java; in Africa they founded Cape Colony. Said an old writer, "like bees they gathered honey from every land. Norway was their forest; the banks of the Rhine, the Garonne, and the Dordogne their vineyards; Germany, Spain, and Ireland their sheep pastures; Prussia and Poland their grain fields; India and Arabia their gardens." They became masters of the seas, and had almost a monopoly of the carrying trade of the world.

Wicquefort, in Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, VI. 488

Jealousy of the house of Orange, however, led the oligarchical burghers in 1651 to declare the stadtholderate vacant; and for twenty years (until his assassination in 1672) the affairs of the United Provinces were directed by Jan de Witt, the able head of the republican party. The contest of parties which underlay these events constituted a serious danger. A second source of danger was commercial rivalry and war with England. After much friction between the two countries, the English Parliament, in 1651, passed the first navigation act, under which foreign ships might import into England only the products of their own countries; the act was especially designed to wrest from the Dutch the control of the carrying trade of the world. Two wars followed, the first lasting from 1651 to 1654, the second from 1665 to 1667, just before which the Dutch colonies in North America were taken by the English; in the end the Dutch were obliged to accept a peace by which the navigation acts remained in force. The republic's greatest prosperity was thus already past when the envy and hatred of Louis XIV. brought on war in 1672.

As a preliminary step Louis won Sweden and England from the Triple Alliance; Charles II. of England even agreed to assist him, and secretly pledged himself to adopt the Catholic religion whenever conditions seemed ripe for that step. The army which Louis gathered numbered more than one hundred and twenty thousand men, and regular depots of supplies were established to maintain it on its march. On the French side the war was characterized by the brilliant strategy of Turenne, until his death in 1675. The Dutch resisted doggedly, cutting the dikes to save Amsterdam; while on the sea their intrepid admiral De Ruyter twice defeated the French and English fleets.

318. Louis's war with the Dutch (1672–1678)

Soldier of Louis XIV.

After the assassination of De Witt, William III. of Orange — great-grandson of William the Silent, grandson of Charles I. of England, and later himself king of England as William III. — was elected stadtholder and captain-general. The remainder of his life, until his death in 1702, was one long struggle against the power of Louis XIV. In 1672 he formed a coalition against France, which included the Emperor Leopold, Spain, Denmark, and the chief German states. In England the opposition of Parliament to the foreign policy of Charles II. forced him to make peace with the Dutch; and this was cemented in 1677 by an important marriage between Mary, the oldest daughter of Charles's brother James, and her cousin William III. of Orange (see p. 388).

In 1678 France agreed to a peace, signed at Nimwegen. The only substantial gains made in this war were at the expense of Spain, which ceded to Louis XIV. the Franche-Comté (on the eastern border of France), and a number of

places in the Spanish Netherlands. Louis's attempt to conquer Holland had ignominiously failed.

319. Louis XIV. and the Pope

The treaty of Nimwegen was followed by ten years of peace (1678–1688), in which occurred a quarrel between Louis XIV. and the papacy. The French (or Gallican) Church had long been noted for its national spirit, and the idea of the supremacy of the state was as firmly fixed as in England. Even the suppression of the Huguenots was as much a political as a religious matter. In 1673 Louis claimed the right to receive the revenues of all bishoprics in France during their vacancy (right of *régale*); this right was denied by the Pope, and in the contest which followed an assembly of the French clergy passed (in 1682) four resolutions asserting the "Liberties of the Gallican Church." These taught: (1) that kings were not subject to the Pope in temporal matters; (2) that a general council, as declared by the Council of Constance (see § 227), was above the Pope, even in spiritual things; (3) that the rules and usages of the French Church must be observed; and (4) that the decisions of the Pope in matters of faith are not final until accepted by the church.

For twenty years the quarrel dragged on; in the end the papacy admitted the right of *régale*, and Louis ceased to require the theological schools to teach the propositions of 1682. Nevertheless, the principles which they contained continued to govern the French Church, and at various times received the sanction of the civil law.

320. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)

Although Louis XIV. asserted his independence of the papacy, he showed no favor to French Protestants: his suspicion that the Huguenots were still disloyal to the crown (§§ 271, 274, 307), his passion for uniformity, a desire to prove his orthodoxy, and religious bigotry alike urged him to measures of persecution. An impulse in the same direction came from the religious zeal of Madame de Maintenon, the estimable governess of his children, to whom he was

secretly married in 1683. Pressure was gradually put upon the Huguenots, and many conversions were announced; and when milder measures failed, Huguenot households were put at the mercy of brutal soldiers (the *dragonnades*).

THE GRAND TRIANON.
Erected by Louis XIV. for Madame de Maintenon in 1687–1688.

Finally, in 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked and all protection of law was withdrawn from French Protestants; their worship was suppressed, their ministers ordered to leave France within fifteen days, and their adherents forbidden to follow them. Many pastors who braved the edict suffered the penalty of death; and hundreds of their followers, taken in the attempt to flee, were sentenced to long years of service at the oar in French galleys. More than two hundred and fifty thousand Protestants succeeded in making their escape from France to carry to other countries French arts, the secrets of French manufactures, and hatred for Louis XIV. The industries of England, Holland, and Brandenburg profited greatly from this cause, and America found in the Huguenots some of her most desirable colonists. France lost not merely many of her ablest artisans, but some of her choicest citizens, who carried with them treasures of heroism, of constancy, of disinterestedness, which she could ill spare. A noble of the French court declared that the measures against the Huguenots were "without the slightest pretext or necessity," and that they "depopu-

lated a quarter of the realm, ruined its commerce, weakened it in every direction, gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons, . . . armed relatives against relatives . . . [and] filled all the realm with perjury and sacrilege. . . . From torture to abjuration, and from that to the communion, there was often only twenty-four hours' distance. . . . The good and true Catholics and the true bishops groaned in spirit to see the orthodox act toward errors and heretics as heretical tyrants and heathens had acted toward the truth, the confessors, and the martyrs."

St. Simon, Memoirs, III. 258–260

Treaties made by France, beginning in 1648, had transferred to her a number of places, each "with its dependencies"; in this phrase Louis XIV. saw the means of further extensions. In 1679 he appointed courts, called "Chambers of Reunion," whose mission it was to give to the language of the treaties its widest interpretation. Titles were invoked running as far back as the Frankish kings before Charlemagne; and more than twenty important border towns were thus seized. Strassburg, the chief place of Alsace, which had been withheld in the peace of Westphalia, was included in this number; and the genius of Vauban soon made it one of the impregnable fortresses of France.

321. Annexations on the Rhine

The German Emperor was too much occupied with the Turks on the Danube to resist such high-handed proceedings, and other powers were loath to go to war; however, in 1686, the Emperor, Spain, Sweden, the princes of North Germany, and the Dutch United Provinces joined in the Augsburg League to oppose the ambition of France. Two years later Louis XIV. committed the mistake of allowing William III. of Orange to succeed by revolution to the throne of his father-in-law, James II. of England (§ 355). Protestant England then ranged itself definitely against France, and there began a new hundred years' war between the two countries, involving the colonial and commercial supremacy of the world.

Against the coalition of European powers, France stood alone. It was not merely a duel of William III. against Louis XIV.; it was a contest of opposing principles. Twenty times William barely escaped being crushed; but he "represented the ideas of the future, — free thought in religion, popular sovereignty in politics," — and these principles sustained and inspired him. The war on the Continent presents few features of interest. Louis had now lost the generals who in the earlier part of his reign guided his armies to victory; and on the opposing side also there were no commanders of first-rate ability.

322. Third war of Louis XIV. (1689–1697)

The real interest in the war centers in the struggles at sea between the fleets of England and France. In 1690 the French won a battle which for two years made them masters of the seas; but the English brought this brief supremacy to an end by a victory off La Hogue — "the greatest naval victory won by the English between the defeat of the Armada and the battle of Trafalgar." In America the chief event of "King William's War," as the English colonists called this struggle, was the conquest of Acadia by the Massachusetts men in 1690.

The exhaustion of all parties led to the conclusion of peace at Ryswick in 1697. Recent conquests, including Acadia, were restored, and Louis surrendered the places "reunited" since 1678, except Strassburg; the Dutch were allowed to garrison the chief fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands as a "barrier" against France; and Louis XIV. recognized William III. as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and agreed not to aid the exiled James II. The pride of the "grand monarch" was thus brought low; but within four years the war was renewed on a larger and more disastrous scale than before.

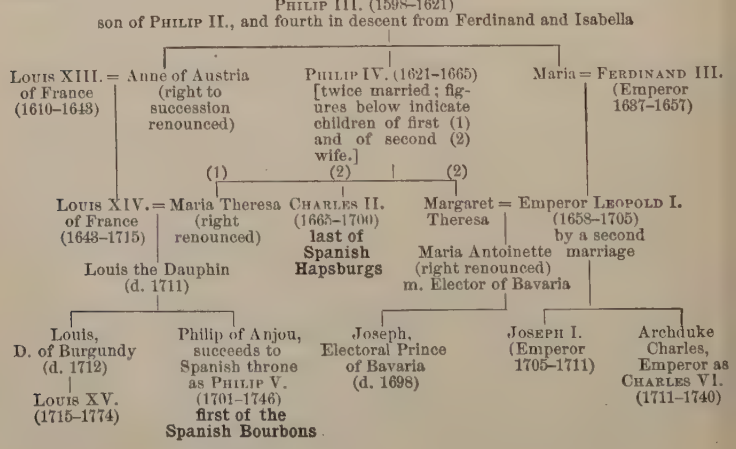
Charles II. of Spain, the last male representative of the Spanish Hapsburg line, was weak in body and mind, and without children. The inheritance which he would leave embraced "twenty-two crowns," including Spain, the

323. The Spanish succession

greater part of Italy, the Spanish Netherlands, the Philippines, and a vast American empire. Three persons could make out plausible claims to the succession: (1) the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. of France and of Charles's eldest sister; (2) the electoral prince Joseph of Bavaria, grandson of Charles's younger sister; (3) the Emperor Leopold, who derived his right from Charles's aunt.[1] The claims of the first two were barred by renunciations; Louis XIV., however, could claim that his descendants were not bound by his wife's renunciation, because the dowry upon which it was conditioned had never been paid.

The succession to such an empire was too important to be settled like the succession to a private estate; the principle called the "balance of power" was beginning to govern European politics, and this required that no state should be allowed to grow so great as to threaten the others. Hence the powers concerned agreed to a treaty by which Spain and the bulk of the inheritance should go to the electoral prince Joseph; but unfortunately he died in 1698. By a second treaty of parti-

[1] The following table shows the descent of the claimants to the Spanish throne: —


Philip III. (1598–1621)
son of Philip II., and fourth in descent from Ferdinand and Isabella
Louis XIII. = Anne of Austria (right to succession renounced)
Philip IV. (1621–1665) [twice married; figures below indicate children of first (1) and of second (2) wife.]
Maria = Ferdinand III. (Emperor 1637–1657)
(1)
(2)
(2)
Louis XIV. = Maria Theresa (right renounced)
Charles II. (1665–1700) last of Spanish Hapsburgs
Margaret Theresa = Emperor Leopold I. (1658–1705) by a second marriage
of France (1643–1715)
(1638–1683)
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1711)
Maria Antoinette (right renounced) m. Elector of Bavaria
Louis, D. of Burgundy (d. 1712)
Louis XV. (1715–1774)
Philip of Anjou, succeeds to Spanish throne as Philip V. (1701–1746) first of the Spanish Bourbons
Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria (d. 1698)
Joseph I. (Emperor 1705–1711)
Archduke Charles, Emperor as Charles VI. (1711–1740)

tion, Leopold's second son, Charles, was to secure Spain, the Indies (the American colonies and the Philippines), and the Netherlands, and the Dauphin was to receive other territories. This was unsatisfactory to the national party among the Spaniards; and their influence induced Charles II. to make a will, three weeks before his death, leaving the whole inheritance to the Dauphin's second son, Philip (1700).

Louis XIV. had solemnly pledged his honor to the partition treaties, but acceptance of the legacy offered greater prospect of gain. His decision was announced when he appeared leaning upon the arm of his grandson, and presented him to the court, saying, "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain!" The spirit which animated the court is summed up in the saying, wrongly ascribed to Louis himself, "The Pyrenees no longer exist." For a time the accession of the young king, Philip V., was accepted even by those who liked it least. William III. wrote bitterly from England, "It grieves me to the soul that almost every one rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty." But when Louis expelled the Dutch from the "barrier" fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, and on the death of the exiled James II. recognized his son as king of England, a reaction came. Before the death of William III. in 1702, he had the satisfaction of seeing a new coalition, embracing England, the Emperor, and the Dutch, in arms to check the Bourbon power.

324. War of the Spanish Succession begun (1701–1703)

Lecky, England in the XVIIIth Century, I. 31

The war was waged in Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and North America; the question at issue was not merely the disposal of the Spanish Hapsburg possessions in Europe, but whether France should be allowed to join the control of Spain's vast colonial empire to her own North American colonies. At the head of the allied forces were the imperialist general Eugene of Savoy, and the English Duke of Marlborough. Both are ranked among the greatest generals of history; of Marlborough it was said

325. Marlborough at the head of the allies

that he "never besieged a fortress which he did not take, never fought a battle which he did not win, never conducted a negotiation which he did not bring to a successful close." The two acted in perfect harmony, but each was hampered by political enemies at home. The Dutch showed themselves more concerned with preserving their trade than with bringing the war to a successful close. The French generals were not the equals of Eugene and Marlborough; and they were hampered by the necessity of having precise orders from the king for all that they did. During the first three years of the struggle neither party gained any decisive advantage.

326. Battle of Blenheim (1704)

In the second period of the war (1704–1710) the allies were brilliantly successful. In 1704 Eugene and Marlborough won the battle of Blenheim from the French and the Bavarians, who were advancing upon Vienna by way of the Danube. This battle broke the spell of Louis's victories, and preserved the coalition; it enhanced the prestige of the English soldiery and vindicated the right of England to choose its own king; it was indeed "a glorious victory," and decisive of great issues. Other brilliant victories of the allies led the French king to negotiate for peace; but when they demanded, in addition to all reasonable concessions, that Louis XIV. should himself drive his grandson from Spain, he broke off negotiations, saying that he preferred making war upon his enemies to making it upon his children.

327. Close of the war (1710-1713)

In the last period of the war (1710–1713) the balance was more nearly even, for Marlborough was removed from command as a result of the political triumph of Tories over Whigs at home. In 1711 the archduke Charles, for whose succession to the Spanish throne the English were fighting, became Emperor upon the death of his older brother. The English forthwith cooled in their zeal, for they had no wish to see the empire of Charles V. revived by the reunion of the Austrian and Spanish possessions under Charles VI.

TERRITORIAL GAINS OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

Less severe terms therefore were demanded of Louis XIV. In 1713 England and France concluded a separate treaty at Utrecht; and by the close of 1714 treaties were also made with the other members of the alliance. Philip V. was recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, but with the provision that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. The Austrians received Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the former Spanish Netherlands, subject to the right of the Dutch to garrison the "barrier" fortresses. England received Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay territory from France; while from Spain she secured Gibraltar (taken in 1704 and retained to the present day), the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean, and limited rights of trade with Spanish America. Finally, Louis withdrew his recognition of the son of James II. as claimant to the English throne.

328. Peace of Utrecht (1713)

These treaties close the long struggle — dating from before the days of Richelieu — of France against the Austro-Spanish power. In spite of French defeats, a Bourbon replaced the Hapsburgs at Madrid, and France remained the leading state of Europe, though with lessened prestige; she owed her eminence not merely to the ambition of her king, but to the energy and ability of her people, the richness of her soil, and the advantages of her geographical position. The treaties mark also an important epoch in the development of Prussia, whose ruler now received the title of king; and in the development of the house of Savoy in Italy, which received from Spain as a kingdom the island of Sicily, soon exchanged (1720) for Sardinia. The Dutch were forced into a peace against their will, and sank to the rank of a third-rate power.

Louis XIV. died September 1, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven, and after a reign of seventy-two years, the longest in European history. His son the Dauphin and his eldest grandson both died before him, leaving as heir to the throne his great-grandson, Louis XV., a child of five years.

329. Absolutism of Louis XIV.

The idea of government held by Louis XIV. is summed up in the words (which, however, he never uttered in precisely this form) "*L'état c'est moi* (I am the state)": it belonged to the head of the state alone to deliberate and form policies; the functions of the other members of the body politic consisted only in executing the commands given. The obedience exacted was a passive, blind, machine-like submission, founded upon the theory of the divine right of kings to rule.

Under Louis XIV. the government was absolute to the last degree. Estates-General were suppressed, the Parlement was confined to its judicial duties, and "intendants" were held to strict accountability. To secure favor the nobles had to reside in the palace of Versailles, follow the court everywhere, and approve of everything. To impress the people, the person

of the king was hedged about by a rigid ceremonial, and "etiquette became the veritable constitution of the state." The moral tone of the court was extremely corrupt.

Any one might be imprisoned or exiled, without trial or even formal charge, by means of a system of *lettres de cachet*: these were letters written by order of the king, countersigned by a secretary of state, and signed with the seal (*cachet*) of the king. The persons against whom the letters were issued usually deserved punishment; but the system violated all safeguards of personal liberty, such as are the pride of the English law with its rights of trial by jury and *habeas corpus*. Under Louis XIV.'s successors, the letters were sometimes issued in blank, leaving to the person obtaining them the right to fill in such names as he chose (p. 436). The most celebrated of Louis XIV.'s prisoners was the "Man in the Iron Mask" — really a mask of black velvet: many attempts have been made to solve the mystery of his identity, but without general acceptance of results.

330. Lettres de cachet

While absolutism reigned at home and unscrupulous ambition governed the foreign relations of France, the foundations of scientific international law were laid in the treatises of Grotius (a Dutchman, 1583–1645) and Puffendorf (a German, 1632–1694). Among the principles which they taught were these: war should be carried on only for a just cause, and for purpose of defense; do no more injury to the vanquished than is strictly necessary; force alone ought not to regulate the relations of peoples, for there is justice between states as well as between individuals; to observe treaties is the wisest practice and the greatest strength of sovereigns. The reign of Louis XIV. was one long violation of these principles.

331. International law

In literature the age of Louis XIV. was one of the most brilliant in French history. By means of the French "Academy" founded by Richelieu, and a system of pensions for

literary effort, great men were fostered and rewarded. Corneille (1606–1684) founded the classical school of French dramatists. His younger contemporary, Racine (1639–1699), is styled by a French critic "the most perfect of our tragedians, and perhaps of our poets." Molière (1622–1673), in a series of admirable comedies, held up to ridicule the vices and follies of the time. The names of many others — poets, philosophers, orators, and moralists — might be added to the list. Coming between the religious reformers of the sixteenth century and the political reformers of the eighteenth, these writers were occupied preëminently with matters of literary form, with ascertaining and establishing for literature the laws of good taste. In painting, the academic art of France could show nothing to compare in strength and effectiveness with the work of the Dutch painter Rembrandt (died 1669).

332. Literature under Louis XIV.

A system of street lighting for Paris was established in this reign, by which a lantern containing a lighted candle was placed at the entrance or in the middle of each street, every night from November 1 to March 1. With better paved streets, carriages could be used; and cabs for hire, and even the "omnibus" following a fixed route, were introduced. For travel from city to city, heavy coaches were provided which took fourteen days to go from Paris to Bordeaux. Tobacco began to be used under Louis XIII.; coffee was first brought from the eastern Mediterranean under Louis XIV., the example of the Turkish ambassador making it the fashionable drink; chocolate was introduced from Central America, and tea from China.

333. Social life, and condition of the people

To the splendor and ceremonial of the court there was another side. Even the palace of Versailles lacked sanitary appliances, and to cover the bad odors, perfumes were freely used. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the habit of bathing all over was introduced into fashionable soci-

ety from England. The art of cookery, born in Italy, was developed in this period to the perfection for which France has since been renowned.

The luxury of the court and the costly wars of the reign reduced the peasantry to its lowest condition. An author of that time (Fénelon) dared to write to the king: "Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of the soil is almost abandoned; the towns and the country decrease in population." In time of famine peasants were reduced to living on grass, nettles, roots, and whatever else they might find.

The sufferings of the lower classes, however, attracted little attention in the general advance of arts and culture. The nobility lost the rudeness which characterized them in the earlier periods, and took on the polished manners of the eighteenth century. "Men and castles had been divested of the habiliments of war; the chevalier [knight] had become a cavalier, and the tournament a carousal. The denizens of the castles and communes, who in former times had been isolated from their fellow-men, acquired a taste for 'society' and 'politeness.' Art — formerly the product of guilds, — philosophy, literature, and science — formerly the property of the church and the schools, — emerged from these privileged bodies, and were freely diffused throughout society." French civilization under Louis XIV. became the most brilliant in Europe, and the court of France the model to all others. The French tongue became the universal language of diplomacy, philosophy, and high society. "The taste of France," wrote Frederick the Great of Prussia some years later, "rules our

334. Influence of France in Europe

Lavisse, General View, 135

Costume of Nobleman in the Time of Louis XIV.

cooking, our furniture, our clothes, and all those trifles over which the tyranny of fashion exercises its empire." The domination over Europe which Louis XIV. was not able to conquer with the sword was peaceably won by French intelligence and taste.

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335. Summary

From the peace of Westphalia (1648) to that of Utrecht (1713) the struggles of European states have a political instead of a religious basis: such were the wars of Louis XIV., and those of the English against the Dutch. Philosophers and scholars framed rules of international law to moderate warfare, but these were little regarded. The object of European dread was now not Hapsburg domination, but that of the Bourbons; and against France European coalitions were formed. By his provocations Louis XIV. prepared the rise of Savoy in Italy, of Prussia in Germany, of England, and of Russia; and to these new powers the future largely belonged. In internal administration the absolute monarchy of France proved a failure: "French kings knew how to exact obedience, but they did not know how to govern." At home the reign of Louis XIV. established political despotism, economic misery, and social inequality; the logical outgrowth of these was the French Revolution three quarters of a century later.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) With what movement in France in the fifteenth century may the Fronde be compared? (2) Was the prosperity of the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. due to the king or to his ministers? (3) What were the effects of Louis XIV.'s wars on France? (4) Compare the objects of the English wars with the Dutch with those of Louis XIV. against the same people. (5) What advantages did England reap from her Dutch wars? (6) What led to the cessation of wars between the English and the Dutch? (7) Under what former king had France vindicated its rights against the papacy? (8) Why was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes unwise? (9) Were the annexations by means of the

Chambers of Reunion just or unjust? (10) Was Louis XIV.'s conduct with reference to the Spanish succession honorable or dishonorable? Was it expedient or inexpedient for France? (11) Why did William III. make himself the head of the opposition to Louis XIV.? (12) What was the prize at issue in the series of wars between England and France? (13) Why does sea power now begin to be important? (14) Did Louis XIV. do more good or harm to France?

Search topics

(15) Mazarin. (16) Colbert. (17) Vauban. (18) The wars between England and Holland. (19) Jan de Witt. (20) Rise of William III. of Orange. (21) The liberties of the Gallican Church. (22) Dispersion of the Huguenots. (23) Character and influence of Madame de Maintenon. (24) War of the Spanish Succession. (25) Marlborough. (26) Eugene of Savoy. (27) The peace of Utrecht. (28) French colonization under Louis XIV. (29) The Man in the Iron Mask. (30) French literature in the time of Louis XIV. (31) Dumas's pictures of French court life.

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CHAPTER XXI.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND (1303–1760)

336. Accession of James I. (1603)

While absolute government was perfecting itself in France, control by Parliament arose in England. This was no accident, but was rather the result to which all English history had been tending.

When Elizabeth died in 1603, the nearest heir to the throne was James VI. of Scotland, son of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (§ 281). Being a Protestant, he was quietly accepted, adding the English kingdom, in which he was known as James I., in personal union to his Scottish realm. He was one of the most learned rulers of Europe, but was so lacking in tact and prudence that the Duke of Sully styled him "the wisest fool in Christendom."

The times, moreover, were changed since the English acquiesced in the despotism of the Tudors (§ 275): there was no longer danger of baronial violence, foreign invasion, or religious war; Puritanism was becoming more insistent in its demands for further reform in the church; and the middle classes, through the development of commerce and industry, were becoming important enough to claim an active voice in the government. Even Elizabeth, in the later years of her reign, saw the necessity of bowing to the will of Parliament. When, therefore, James I. and his descendants, influenced by the seventeenth-century doctrine of the divine right of kings, set themselves to rule as absolute monarchs, disregarding the wishes and prejudices of the nation, the "murmuring Parliament of Queen Elizabeth" developed into "the mutinous

Parliament of James I. and the rebellious Parliament of Charles I.," and the end was the "glorious revolution" of 1688 which brought William III. to the throne.

337. The religious question

The first question which James I. had to face was the religious question, aggravated because some English Catholics, finding no relief from the oppressive laws directed against them, plotted with disappointed courtiers against the king. The Gunpowder Plot of 1604 was an attempt by certain Catholics, including Guy Fawkes, to blow up the Parliament house when the King, Lords, and Commons were assembled at the opening of the session. The result of these plots was that James heeded the demands of his Protestant subjects and left the intolerant laws against Catholics in full force.

With the Puritans also James found it difficult to deal. At a conference held at Hampton Court, in 1604, some of the Puritan speakers, in justifying their worship, used words which led James to think that they wished to introduce into the church the Presbyterian system of government which he found vexatious in Scotland. "I shall make them conform themselves," said the king, "or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

Hart, Source Book of American History, § 14

Friction with his Parliaments followed, and persecutions which led many of the more radical Puritans to seek homes beyond seas. In 1620 occurred the famous settlement of New Plymouth colony by the Pilgrims, and ten years later the great emigration which founded Boston. Virginia, founded in 1607, was settled more from economic than religious motives. Though the founding of the American colonies can receive little attention in this book, it was one of the great events of the time.

338. Quarrels over parliamentary privileges

The king of England, unlike the king of France, had no right of arbitrary taxation and no standing army. The extravagance of James made him more dependent upon Parliament than his predecessors, yet he added quarrels over parliamentary privilege to the grievances over reli-

gion. In the Thirty Years' War, James sought to aid his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate, through a treaty with Spain which should include the marriage of his son, Prince Charles, to a Spanish princess. When Parliament attacked the project in 1621, James roundly ordered it not to "meddle with any thing concerning our government or deep matters of state"; their privileges, he asserted, rested only on the will of the king. To this the Commons answered by a protest setting forth that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England"; that "affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws," were properly debated in Parliament; and that "in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of speech," and freedom from molestation for his conduct. This protest James tore from the journal of the Commons with his own hand, and its authors were imprisoned.

Prothero, Statutes and Documents, 310, 313

A trip to Madrid, however, convinced Prince Charles and the royal favorite, Buckingham, that the Spaniards were deceiving them; and when James met his next Parliament, in 1624, it was to invite them to declare for war against Spain. The question of privilege was allowed to rest, and for the first time James found himself really popular. The next year (1625) he died.

339. Accession of Charles I. (1625)

Charles I. (1625–1649) was a more kingly man than his father, but also more arbitrary, self-willed, and unconciliatory. His personal morality was of the highest, but there was an unintentional untruthfulness in him which made it impossible to bind him by any promise. To these traits he added a devotion to the English Church, as he interpreted it, which was one of his noblest characteris-

tics, but which proved one of his most fruitful sources of trouble.

The reaction against Calvinism, which began in Holland and is called Arminianism (§ 292), now made itself felt in England, and received the sympathy of some of the English clergy, chief of whom was William Laud. Rigid "predestination" was rejected in favor of "free will," while in worship as much of the forms and ceremonies of the Catholic Church were retained as possible. At the opposite extreme stood the Puritans, who wished to do away with vestments, altars, and pictured windows, and reduce worship to the bare simplicity of apostolic times. Laud's party in the church was small, but had the king with it, and in turn zealously supported the royal authority, and taught that disobedience of the king was sin. The Puritans regarded such doctrines as intended to overturn civil liberty and to pave the way for the reintroduction of Catholicism.

CHARLES I.
From the contemporary painting by Van Dyke.

Another source of growing dissatisfaction was the Duke of Buckingham. Raised from humble station to the highest rank, and intrusted with practically the whole administration, he bore himself with insolence, while the government was miserably inefficient. In spite of the war already begun against Spain, and the aid pledged to the Protestant cause in Germany (§ 296), Buckingham rushed headlong into an inglorious war with France. Men began openly to name him as "the grievance of grievances"; and in 1626 he was saved from impeachment only by the king's dissolving Parliament.

340. Petition of Right (1628)

In the third Parliament of Charles a Petition of Right (1628) put the stamp of illegality upon recent arbitrary acts. It reaffirmed a number of ancient statutes, and declared that arbitrary taxation, arbitrary imprisonment, the quartering of soldiers upon the people, and martial law were illegal. Charles was obliged to give way, and the Petition of Right became law. Its importance is second only to that of Magna Charta, for it settled in favor of the nation most of the constitutional questions then in dispute.

Adams and Stephens, Select Documents, No. 189

Charles soon "prorogued" this Parliament — that is, adjourned it for some months, without putting an end to its existence. Before it reassembled Buckingham was murdered by a fanatic who had a private grievance to add to the public discontent (1628); and Sir Thomas Wentworth, hitherto one of the opposition leaders, changed to the royal side. Neither a Puritan nor a believer in popular government, Wentworth can not be held an apostate; with Buckingham gone, he gave his support to the government, and ultimately, as Earl of Strafford, became Charles's chief adviser.

341. New quarrels with Parliament (1629)

When Parliament reassembled, the crown and the Commons were as wide apart as ever. Besides the Arminian innovations in religion the controversy was mainly over the king's right to collect without grant of Parliament a customs duty called "tonnage and poundage," which the Commons claimed was prohibited by the Petition of Right. This parliamentary session ended in a scene of great confusion. While the king's messenger knocked loudly for admittance at the locked doors, and the speaker was held forcibly in his chair, resolutions were passed declaring: (1) that innovators in religion and those advising the taking of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary consent were "capital enemies to the kingdom"; and (2) that every one voluntarily paying tonnage and poundage was "a betrayer of the liberties of England."

There followed eleven years of arbitrary government without a Parliament. Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, forced his ideas upon the English Church with conscientious obstinacy. The wars with France and Spain were brought to an end for lack of means to continue them. Obsolete rights of all sorts were raked up in the effort to raise a revenue without having recourse to Parliament. The Court of Star Chamber, the organization of which practically dates from Henry VII., and the Court of High Commission, originally created to enforce the royal supremacy in the church, dealt relentlessly with those who opposed the royal will. Sir John Eliot, one of the leaders in the last Parliament, was imprisoned for his course there and died in the Tower three and a half years later, a martyr to constitutional liberty. Judges who were suspected of being unfriendly to the royal claims were dismissed. The attempt to levy an arbitrary tax called "ship money" was resisted in the courts by John Hampden (1637); and though the verdict was against him, the case helped to consolidate the opposition.

342. Arbitrary government (1629–1640)

In spite of the prosperity of those years, English discontent became more widespread than ever. Finally the attempt of Charles and Laud to force upon the kingdom of Scotland a new service book, led to a revolt of the Presbyterian Scots. An English Parliament, when summoned early in 1640, showed itself entirely on the side of the rebels, and was dissolved within three weeks; but new reverses forced Charles, in November, 1640, to convene another Parliament, of which he was not so easily rid.

This body, known as the Long Parliament, showed itself almost unanimously opposed to his religious and civil policy. Charles could not dismiss it as he had his earlier Parliaments, because a Scottish army was now on English soil ready to march southward in case he failed to pay each month the sums agreed to in a recent treaty, and for these sums he was dependent upon Parliament. The principal leader

343. Opening of the Long Parliament (1640–1641)

of the opposition was John Pym. Under his guidance the Long Parliament proceeded (1) to punish the authors of the late oppressions, (2) to compensate the sufferers, and (3) to provide securities for the future. Strafford (1641) and Laud (1645) were beheaded, and others escaped a like fate only by flight. The victims of the Star Chamber and High Commission were freed from prison and received money compensation, and these two bodies were abolished. To secure the regular recurrence of Parliaments, a Triennial Act was passed, providing that not more than three years should pass without a session of Parliament; and another that the existing Parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent.

In assenting to this last act Charles made his greatest mistake, for divisions soon after began to appear. The Puritans desired to cast out "root and branch" the episcopal government of the church, while the Anglicans wished merely to restore the conditions which existed before Laud's innovations. If Charles had been free to dissolve this Parliament, while frankly accepting the above acts, new elections would doubtless have returned a Parliament of more moderate composition. As it was, his determination to punish the opposition leaders, their wish to preserve what had been gained, and the agitation for more radical reforms in church and state gradually widened the breach. To the newly formed royalist party the name "Cavaliers" was given, while their opponents, from their puritanically cut hair, were called "Roundheads."

A rebellion in Ireland, in 1641, made necessary an English army to quell it. Parliament rightly feared lest the king should use this army to undo their work; while the king refused to part with his prerogative of appointing the officers. Over the question of the control of the militia, which involved the question whether king or Parliament should rule, the two parties in 1642 drifted into war.

344. Outbreak of Civil War (1641-1643)

Geographically the north and west — the poorer and more backward parts of the country — were royalist, while the richer and more progressive south and east adhered to Parliament. Socially, the middle classes, including the Londoners, were parliamentarians; while the gentry and the nobles — save a small number who continued attendance in the House of Lords — supported the king. The navy, the arsenals, and the machinery of taxation were in the hands of Parliament.

ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR (1642).

Both sides sought allies. In 1643 the parliamentarians entered into a Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots, by which a reformation of religion in England and Ireland was pledged "according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches." This was understood to mean the establishment of Presbyterianism; only on that understanding would the Scots furnish troops, whose expenses were to be borne by Parliament. The king in the same year came to terms with the Irish rebels, and sought to bring over armies from Ireland and the Continent.

Gardiner, Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 187–190

Hampden and Pym died early in the war. Oliver Cromwell, an earnest, God-fearing man, organized a body of cavalry,

like-minded with himself, styled the "Ironsides"; and the efficiency of these troops and his own tactical genius brought him into increasing prominence. On the king's side, the most brilliant officer was Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, a son of the unfortunate Frederick of the Palatinate.

345. Victory of parliamentarians (1643–1645)

The first great reverse sustained by Charles was at Marston Moor (July, 1644), when Cromwell's Ironsides and the Scots overthrew Rupert and the royalists; this secured the north to Parliament. The feeling that the noble leaders of the parliamentary army were disinclined to follow up their victories against the king led (in 1645) to the passage of a "Self-denying Ordinance," by which officers who were members of Parliament laid down their commands; Cromwell, however, was allowed to retain his, and the army was reorganized under him as lieutenant general. In 1645 the second decisive victory over the king was won at Naseby. The royalist forces were there practically destroyed; and copies of Charles's private letters were captured, showing his intrigues and duplicity. In May, 1646, Charles gave himself up to the Scots, thinking to obtain better terms from them than from his English subjects.

Oliver Cromwell.
From the contemporary painting by Van der Faes.

The religious question in England meanwhile took a new turn. An assembly of clergy and laity, called by Parliament, sat at Westminster (just west of London) from 1643 to 1647, and framed the Westminster Confession, in which were embodied Presbyterian principles, including the abolition of episcopacy and the disuse of the Prayer Book. In Parliament the Presbyterians were in control, and

346. Negotiations with Charles I. (1646–1648)

sought to force their principles on the nation; but in the army the majority were Independents, or radical Puritans, who opposed an established church of any sort and favored religious toleration.

When Charles surrendered, the Scots, Parliament, and the army all tried their hands at negotiation with him. The Scots at last, in disgust at his obstinacy, turned him over to Parliament and marched home. Quarrels then broke out between Parliament and the army, owing to the intolerance of the Presbyterians and an attempt to disband the troops without pay; and the army took the custody of Charles into its own hands (June, 1647). After five months Charles escaped to the Isle of Wight, but at Carisbrooke Castle he was again taken into custody. In 1648 he succeeded in stirring up a second civil war, in which the Scots, now supporting the king, were routed by Cromwell at Preston. The army officers, convinced at length of the futility of further negotiations with Charles, joined in demanding that he be brought to trial. When Parliament, after passing measures directed against the Independents, voted to reopen negotiations with the king, a body of troops under Colonel Pride took possession of their hall, and excluded one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members (1648).

Royal Apartments, Carisbrooke Castle.
From a photograph.

After "Pride's Purge," the "Rump" (as the remainder of Parliament was called) numbered less than sixty members, and could make no pretense of representing the country; nevertheless it appointed a High Court of Justice, which tried the king and condemned him to death as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the good people of this nation." Throughout the trial the strongest indications were given that the proceedings were not approved even by the majority of Londoners. Nevertheless, on January 30, 1649, Charles was publicly beheaded. He bore himself with quiet dignity and religious resignation, and his death went far to remove the unfavorable impression created by his misgovernment and intrigues. His great error lay in trying to "substitute the personal will of Charles Stuart for the legal will of the king of England."

347. Execution of Charles I. (Jan. 30, 1649)

Gardiner, Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 282–290

The Commons claimed that "the people are under God the source of all just power"; and assuming to act in the name of the people, they decreed the abolition of monarchy and of the House of Lords, and declared England to be a Commonwealth, or free state, with an executive council of forty-one members.

348. The Commonwealth (1649–1653)

Besides an unsuccessful movement of radicals called "Levellers," in England, the Commonwealth was threatened from Ireland and Scotland by the adherents of Charles's son, whom the Scots proclaimed as Charles II. In Ireland Cromwell took two places by storm and put the garrisons to the sword, as a means "to prevent the effusion of blood for the future"; and in September, 1650, he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Scots at Dunbar. Next summer young Charles II. made a dash into England, where the royalists were expected to rise to his assistance: this expectation was disappointed, and, just one year after Dunbar, the Scots were overwhelmingly defeated a second time at Worcester. Prince Charles escaped to France, after six weeks

Carlyle, Cromwell's Letters, nos. 70, 71

of thrilling adventures, and for the next nine years Scotland was forcibly united to England.

New difficulties meanwhile arose between the army and Parliament. Cromwell and the army desired that elections be held for a new Parliament, but the members of the Rump insisted that they should sit in the new body, and have a veto on the election of the new members. In April, 1653, Cromwell ended the matter by forcibly turning out the Rump; he then called together an assembly of persons nominated by the Independent ministers of the three kingdoms — popularly styled "Barebone's Parliament" from a London member named Praise-God Barebone.

The failure of this body to deal satisfactorily with matters of government led to the adoption of a written constitution called the Instrument of Government. In this Cromwell was named Lord Protector for life of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and with a council of not more than twenty-one or less than thirteen, was constituted the executive. All legislative power was vested in a Parliament of a single chamber. Like the later American constitutions, the Instrument of Government was a rigid constitution, containing provisions which could not be changed by ordinary legislation.

349. The Protectorate (1653–1659)

In foreign affairs Cromwell's government was eminently successful, and England was more respected abroad than she had been since Elizabeth's day. In internal affairs the Protectorate proved a failure because it was based upon the support of the army, and not upon the free consent of the nation. When the first Parliament under the Protectorate met, in 1654, its members insisted on debating the advisability of "government by a single person," and otherwise called in question the constitution under which they were assembled. Cromwell thereupon dismissed them at the earliest moment possible; and royalist plots for a time led him to assume the powers of a dictator.

In 1656 Cromwell again called a Parliament, and after excluding some ninety members from their seats, he got along smoothly with the rest. They even offered the crown to Cromwell, and proposed a "second house" of Parliament; he declined the crown, but organized the second chamber. New difficulties forced him, in February, 1658, to dissolve the new Parliament, like its predecessor. On September 3 of the same year, the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell died. He had not sought power, neither had he shirked it, and while it was in his hands he administered the government honestly and ably; in his wish to grant toleration to all Protestant Christians, whether Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents, he was in advance of his time.

His son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded him as Protector, but had neither the force of character nor the hold on the army possessed by his father; and he soon permitted the generals to restore the Rump, which speedily forced him to abdicate and retire to private life (1659). The Rump again quarreled with the army, was again expelled, and again restored.

350. Restoration of the Stuarts (1660)

By this time England was heartily tired of Commonwealth and Protectorate alike, and was ready to welcome the restoration of the legitimate monarch. George Monk, a strong, silent general, who had taken no part in recent squabbles, marched to London with the northern troops, and forced the Rump to admit the members expelled by Pride in 1648; the reconstituted assembly then ordered a new election and voted its own dissolution (March, 1660). Thus ended the Long Parliament, twenty years after its first assembling; its republic had failed, but it had forever put barriers to the absolutism of the crown. Thenceforth Parliament could not be dispensed with, and its ascendency in the government steadily grew.

The Convention Parliament, as the new assembly was styled, proceeded at once to call Charles II. to the throne, and restore

the old constitution. The new monarch was a man of great natural sagacity, but indolent and grossly immoral. He came back with the fixed determination "never to set out on his travels again," and did not hesitate to give way on any point when circumstances compelled him. Thirteen persons implicated in the execution of Charles I. were put to death. The puritanic mode of life forced upon the country in the preceding period was followed by a licentious reaction, of which the king's court was the center.

Woman's Dress in Court of Charles II.

In spite of the fact that to the Presbyterians belonged the credit for Charles's restoration, the new or Cavalier Parliament (1661–1679) showed itself violently intolerant of everything which differed from the Church of England. Nearly two thousand ministers, many of them men of the highest character, were expelled from their livings by the requirement that they should accept the Book of Common Prayer in every particular, and declare that it was unlawful to bear arms against the sovereign on any pretense whatever. The Five-Mile Act, Conventicle Act, and Corporation Act excluded the dispossessed ministers from the profession of teaching, forbade under heavy penalties the holding of dissenting religious assemblies, and shut out of municipal office those who did not receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Church of England.

351. Persecution of Dissenters (1660–1685)

From this time there existed, along with the established church, a large body of Protestant dissenters — Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and the like. Their ranks contained the

noblest English writers of that time. John Milton (1608–1674), the blind author of *Paradise Lost*, was for ten years secretary to the council of state under Cromwell, and chief literary defender of the Puritan cause in politics; in religion he embodied the loftiest and most tolerant form of Puritanism. John Bunyan (1628–1688) equally embodied the ideas of religious dissent in his prose allegory entitled *Pilgrim's Progress*.

352. Rise of Whigs and Tories (1672–1685)

In his foreign policy Charles II. showed himself subservient to Louis XIV. of France in return for money to spend upon his pleasures; but two wars against the Dutch (1665–1667 and 1672–1674) enforced Cromwell's policy of building up English shipping (§ 317).

At heart Charles was a Catholic, so far as he was anything, and wished to secure toleration for his Catholic subjects. To test public opinion, his brother and heir, James, Duke of York, declared his adherence to the Roman Church. In 1672 Charles even issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the acts which imposed disabilities on Catholic and Protestant dissenters; but this step was attacked as unconstitutional, and the obnoxious declaration was withdrawn. Parliament then (1673) passed a Test Act, excluding Catholics from administrative offices, and five years later (1678) the exclusion was extended to Catholic members of the House of Lords. As Catholics had been ineligible for the Commons since the days of Elizabeth, the exclusion now extended to all public life.

In 1678 England went wild over rumors of a "Popish plot" for the forcible restoration of Catholicism. A persistent but unsuccessful attempt in Parliament to pass a bill excluding the Duke of York from the succession led to the rise of English political parties in the form which they were to hold for more than a century. On the one side stood the Tories, who laid stress upon the ideas of hereditary succession and the duty of non-resistance, and were stanch supporters of the established church; on the other were the Whigs, who leaned

to toleration of Protestant dissenters, and looked upon the king as an official, subject to the law, and bound to act through ministers responsible to Parliament. The reign closed in 1685 with the Tories completely triumphant and Charles at the height of his power.

Two great calamities of this reign deserve notice. In 1665 a terrible plague swept away one hundred thousand persons in London alone; and, a year later, fire destroyed nearly the whole city. Out of the ashes of ruined London rose a better built city, much of which still stands.

353. London Plague and Fire (1665, 1666)

In spite of his Catholic faith, James II. was allowed quietly to succeed his brother, and a rebellion which aimed to set upon the throne the Protestant Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II., met with practically no support. Monmouth was put to death, and all who were in any way implicated were punished in the Bloody Assize held by a brutal and servile judge named Jeffreys. James possessed all of Charles I.'s narrow-mindedness and tenacity of opinion, without his ennobling traits; it has been said of him that, "by incredible and pertinacious folly, he irritated not only the classes which had fought against his father, but also those that had fought for his father."

354. Tyranny of James II. (1685–1688)

The opposition arose chiefly from James's persistent efforts to set aside the laws imposing disabilities upon Catholics, by excusing them, through an assumed "dispensing power," from the provisions of the Test Act. In 1687, and again in 1688, he issued Declarations of Indulgence, suspending the execution of all penal laws for religious offenses, and forbidding the imposition of religious oaths or tests as qualification for office. James thought that Protestant dissenters would support his policy, but their fear of a Catholic restoration led them to join the opposition. The universities and clergy were also alienated by high-handed attempts to force Catholics into university offices.

For a time the nation bore patiently these oppressions, for James's two daughters (his only legitimate children) were both Protestant, and the elder, Mary, was married to William of Orange (§ 318). In 1688, however, the birth of a son by a second wife presented an heir who would be educated as a Catholic. A tyrannical prosecution of seven of the leading bishops for a petition which they presented to the crown

Route of William III.

brought matters to a head, and Tories and Whigs alike united in an appeal to William III. of Orange to save England from a Catholic sovereign.

355. The Revolution of 1688

Unfortunately for James, his patron Louis XIV. wished to teach him a lesson of submissiveness to France, and hence directed the French armies elsewhere, leaving William free to invade England. Scarcely a blow was struck in James's behalf, the army which he had built up proving untrustworthy. Deserted by practically all his adherents, he lost courage and fled to France. Nothing could have better served William's interests. A Parliament, called on the advice of leading peers, declared: (1) that James by his

actions had abdicated the government, and that the throne was vacant; (2) that it was "inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince"—and the throne was thereupon offered to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. A declaration of the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this realm" was then made in the Bill of Rights (1689), which effectually settled

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II.
From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.

the constitutional questions in controversy: the dispensing power was declared illegal; freedom of speech and debate in Parliament, together with the right of petition, was secured; and the keeping up an army in time of peace, save with parliamentary consent, was forbidden. The Bill of Rights, following Magna Charta (1215) and the Petition of Right (1628), completed the structure of the constitutional monarchy. The rulers of England, after 1688, owed their throne ultimately to a vote of Parliament, and this fact prevented the supremacy of Parliament ever afterward being called in question.

In Ireland James II., relying on the loyalty of the Catholic

population, sought to regain what he had lost in England, but after his defeat by William at the battle of the Boyne (1690), Ireland was soon pacified. The Scots followed the example of the English in declaring James deposed and accepting William; but some severe fighting was necessary before the Stuart sympathizers were forced into submission.

356. William III. (1688–1702)

The religious question in England was largely solved in 1689 by the passage of a Toleration Act, which allowed Protestant dissenters, under certain restrictions, to set up their worship alongside that of the established church. This moderation of religious opinion is connected with the growth of scientific knowledge: Sir Isaac Newton had just announced his discovery of the laws of gravitation; the composition of the atmosphere was being studied; botany was becoming a science; and microscopic animal life had been discovered. Such increased knowledge of nature inevitably affected men's attitude in religion. A further evidence of progress of intelligence is seen in the fact that after 1712 no executions for witchcraft took place in England.

William's long struggle with Louis XIV. (§§ 318, 322–324) forms the chief part of England's foreign relations in this reign. In constitutional history the facts of chief interest are the ways in which Parliament's ascendency was strengthened and used. The Triennial Act of the Long Parliament sought to make sure that not more than three years should elapse *without* a Parliament; a new Triennial Act (1694) prohibited the *continuance* of a Parliament for more than three years, the period later being extended to seven years, in which form the law is still in force. Unlike the legislative bodies of the United States, English Parliaments are not elected for a fixed term, but last until dissolved; they must come to an end, however, before the seven-year period is up. Annual sessions were secured by the practice of voting taxes and the army bill for but one year at a time; if the gov-

357. Politics and parties (1689–1702)

ernment failed to call Parliament to renew these, it would be left without legal revenue and without legal means of controlling the army. This practice effectually insures that the voice of Parliament shall be heeded.

358. Rise of Cabinet government

The development of the Whig and Tory parties, with definite political principles, made it easier to ascertain the voice of Parliament; but fully organized parliamentary government required a center of influence, which was supplied by the Cabinet. In its present form the Cabinet is practically a committee of members of the two houses of Parliament, who are intrusted with the administration of the government. They are chosen ostensibly by the sovereign, but really by a Prime Minister, out of members of the two houses who are in political accord with the majority of the House of Commons. The essential feature of the Cabinet is the union of executive and legislative functions (contrary to the American practice) in the same persons. The beginnings of this system may be traced in the reign of William and Mary, when in 1694 William formed the first truly constitutional government by choosing his ministers entirely from one political party — the Whigs.

359. Queen Anne (1702–1714)

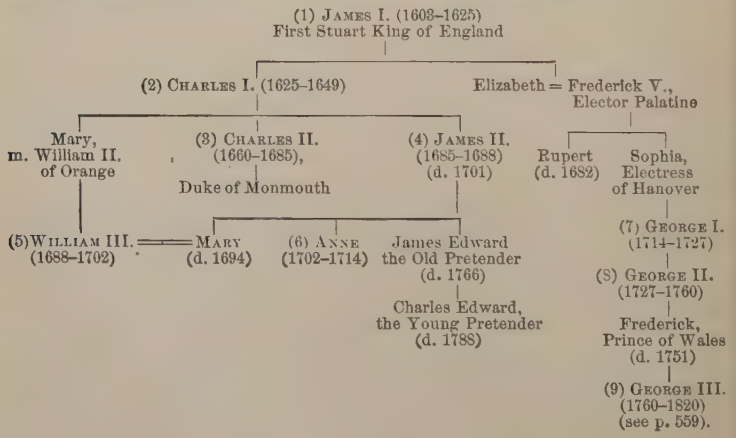
Mary died in 1694 and William in 1702; they left no children, and the throne passed to Anne, Mary's younger sister. The long War of the Spanish Succession (§§ 324–328) was the chief feature of this reign in foreign affairs. In domestic affairs an important event was the merging of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England into the single kingdom of Great Britain (1707); by the terms of the Act of Union the Scottish Parliament came to an end, and Scottish representatives were added to both houses of the English Parliament. Anne was a weak, good-natured woman, and struggles between Whigs and Tories for control of the government fill the history of her reign. Although Anne had many children, they were weakly and died young.

In 1701 an Act of Settlement was passed which provided that after the deaths of William and of Anne the throne should go to the lineage of the Electress of Hanover, the nearest Protestant branch descended from the house of Stuart.[1] As Anne's death drew near, the Tories, who were then in power, opposed the Hanoverian succession; and it was only the sudden termination of Anne's last illness, and the firmness of the Whig leaders, that prevented a second Stuart restoration.

360. First two Hanoverians (1714–1760)

George I. (1714–1727), the first Hanoverian king of Great Britain, was commonplace and a thorough German. His ignorance of English led to his absenting himself from Cabinet meetings, thus establishing a precedent which greatly increased the independence of the ministry. A "Jacobite" rising in favor of the Old Pretender (James, son of James II.), in 1715, was easily put down; and a daring invasion by the Young Pretender (Charles, grandson of James II.), in 1745, which penetrated from Scotland to

[1] Hanover (§ 125) was given a vote in the imperial electoral college (the ninth) in 1692; it became a kingdom in 1815. The following genealogy shows the relationship of the house of Hanover to the house of Stuart: —


(1) James I. (1603–1625)
First Stuart King of England
(2) Charles I. (1625–1649)
Elizabeth = Frederick V., Elector Palatine
Mary, m. William II. of Orange
(3) Charles II. (1660–1685),
Duke of Monmouth
(4) James II. (1685–1688) (d. 1701)
Rupert (d. 1682)
Sophia, Electress of Hanover
(5) William III. (1688–1702)
Mary (d. 1694)
(6) Anne (1702–1714)
James Edward the Old Pretender (d. 1766)
(7) George I. (1714–1727)
(8) George II. (1727–1760)
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (d. 1788)
Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751)
(9) George III. (1760–1820)
(see p. 559).

Derby (p. 410), and caused a panic at London, failed equally because of a lack of English support. The government under both George I. and George II. (1727–1760) was long in the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, the first real prime minister in English history (1721–1742). His policy was to strengthen the Hanoverian succession, maintain peace, and allow free development to English industry and commerce; he was supported by the Whig party, which was composed largely of dissenters and the middle classes, and was opposed by the Tory squires and clergymen, who long preserved a secret loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. The prosperity of agriculture and commerce, the wide prevalence of political corruption, and a great religious revival under John and Charles Wesley (the "Methodists") characterize this period.

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361. Summary

England's insular position protected her from foreign interference while passing through the political crises of the seventeenth century, as it had while passing through the religious revolution of the sixteenth. Three passions animated her in this period: (1) the sentiment of loyalty, which long protected Charles I., recalled Charles II. from exile, and disturbed the security of the Hanoverians by Jacobite risings; (2) hatred of Roman Catholicism, which put Charles I. to death, raised up Cromwell, and exiled James II.; and (3) attachment to political liberty. "When the quarrel between the loyalists and the anti-papists had been settled, and foreigners, first a Dutchman and then the Hanoverians, succeeded to the throne of England, the dominant passion became that of liberty." Under the system of government which followed, Parliament could do almost everything without the king, but he could do nothing without Parliament. "Against its own government the country defended itself by means of its rights and liberties. It had private rights, whereby the person of an Englishman, his

Lavisse, General View, 109–111

domicile, and his purse were rendered inviolable against all illegal acts; and public rights, namely, the right of complaint and petition, the right of meeting, the right of association, the right to speak and to write. . . . England was free; indeed, in the eighteenth century she was the only free nation in the world."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why did absolute monarchy not succeed in England as it did in France? (2) In the contest between James I. and his Parliaments, which was seeking to introduce a change? (3) What were the chief causes of the failure of Charles I. as king? (4) Was the execution of Strafford and Laud just or unjust? (5) Would you have been a Cavalier or a Roundhead if you had been in Parliament in 1640? Why? (6) Would you have fought for the king or for Parliament in the civil war? (7) Was toleration in religion most likely to come from Charles I., the Long Parliament, the Scots, or the army? (8) Was the execution of Charles just or unjust? Was it expedient or inexpedient? (9) Was Cromwell an ambitious usurper or a sincere patriot? (10) Was Charles II. a good or a bad king? (11) Why did all sects of English Protestants unite in refusing toleration to Roman Catholics in the seventeenth century? (12) Why did Englishmen turn to William III. of Orange? (13) Did the Bill of Rights enact new principles? (14) Review the steps in the growth of Parliament before the seventeenth century. (15) What were the chief developments in the seventeenth century with respect to Parliament? (16) How did the Hanoverian succession help the growth of constitutional principles?

Search topics

(17) The Gunpowder Plot. (18) Puritan emigration to North America under James I. and Charles I. (19) England and the Thirty Years' War. (20) Character of Charles I. (21) George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. (22) Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. (23) William Laud. (24) Sir John Eliot. (25) John Hampden. (26) John Pym. (27) Oliver Cromwell. (28) Trial and execution of Charles I. (29) Growth of English sea power in the seventeenth century. (30) Character of Charles II. (31) Rise of Whig and Tory parties. (32) Character of James II. (33) Revolution of 1688. (34) William III. of Orange as king of England. (35) Queen Anne. (36) Rise of the Cabinet. (37) Reasons for union of Scotland with England. (38) Sir Robert Walpole.

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CHAPTER XXII.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (1689–1748)

(A) Russia and Sweden

362. Russia before Peter the Great

"Russia is the last-born child of European civilization;" during the whole of the Middle Ages its history may be neglected, because it was the history of barbarism, not of civilization — of Asia, not of Europe. In the ninth century, Rurik the Northman established his sway over the Slavic tribes about Novgorod; in the tenth century his descendants received Christianity from Constantinople. For nearly two hundred and forty years after 1241, the Golden Horde of Mongols exercised suzerainty over the land. Poland, seizing the western districts, placed herself between Germany and Russia, and seemed about to develop permanently into a powerful Slavic kingdom.

In 1480, however, the Grand Duke of Muscovy cast off the Mongolian yoke, and set about the creation of an independent Russian state. Now that Constantinople had fallen before the Turks, Moscow claimed to be its heir and its avenger. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Astrakhan was conquered from the Mongols, and the Russian boundary was pushed to the Caspian Sea. In 1613 the Romanoffs, ancestors (in the female line) of the present ruling dynasty, ascended the throne. Under the early rulers of this house the beginning was made of that eastward expansion — paralleled in United States history by the "winning of the West" — which gave Russia the vast domain of Siberia. Internally barbarism still ruled, and externally Russia was cut off from European politics.

RUSSIA: CONQUESTS OF PETER THE GREAT.

In both these respects a revolution was effected by the hero of Russian history, Peter the Great, whose character was a strange admixture of nobility and cruelty, of culture and savagery. When aroused to anger he decapitated his enemies with his own hands, and he presided at the tor-

363. Early reign of Peter the Great (1689–1698)

ture and death of his eldest son when the latter threatened the stability of his work; his drunken orgies sometimes lasted for days. Yet his nature was truthful, simple, and straightforward, and no one could be a truer friend to those who deserved his friendship.

His reign really began in 1689, when he was seventeen years old. While still a lad he had already begun to manifest that passion for western arts and for warfare which were his most prominent characteristics; he loved to slip away to the part of Moscow frequented by foreign merchants, there to pick up a knowledge of German and Dutch, and learn something of European science and inventions. In a shed by the river he discovered a forgotten sailboat, which fired him with a desire to learn navigation and shipbuilding; and this half-rotten boat became the "grandfather of the Russian fleet." Playing at war led to the formation of a company of soldiers equipped in European fashion and commanded by a German officer, and this proved the beginning of a new Russian army.

PETER THE GREAT.

In two expeditions (1695 and 1696), Azof on the Black Sea was captured, and the value of the young czar's "amusements" was made manifest. But the Russian nobility, the Russian priesthood, the old Russian army, were hostile to change. To obtain that first-hand knowledge of the West which was necessary to overcome Muscovite inertia, Peter, with a large suite, in 1697 and 1698, made a journey of instruction to Germany, Holland, and England. In Holland he worked for some days in the shipyards, disguised as a common sailor. Wherever he went he refused honors, in order to visit workshops and labora-

tories. Anatomical and natural history collections were examined, as well as sawmills, paper mills, flour mills, printing offices, and the like. His constant utterance was, "I must see."

On his way to Venice, Peter was recalled home by a revolt of the old Russian army (Streltsi), which had long played a part similar to that of the prætorian guard in Roman history; his native savagery burst out in fearful vengeance, and the opportunity was used to do away entirely with such dangerous troops. By refusing to appoint a successor to the last Patriarch of Moscow, who died in 1700, and by later committing the direction of the Russian Greek Church to a Holy Synod, Peter broke the power of the priesthood, and weakened a second center of blind conservatism. The nobles were gradually depressed, until, in 1711, the czar felt strong enough, by forbidding them for the future to hold their council, to end their political power. Thus army, church, and nobility alike were rendered powerless to oppose reform.

364. Peter's reforms (1699–1725)

A series of "ukases," or decrees, appeared meanwhile which little by little reconstituted Russia's institutions — central, provincial, and municipal; social, military, and educational. Western shipbuilders, engineers, physicians, and schoolmasters were invited in, under promise of security, rewards, and religious toleration. Shaved faces and the short-cut sleeves of the West replaced at the Russian court the long beards and flowing sleeves of the East.

In spite of all efforts, "Holy Moscow," the center of Russian conservatism, remained hostile to Peter's measures; he also desired a maritime capital. Since Archangel on the White Sea was closed by ice for more than half the year, and Azof on the Black Sea was cut off from the Mediterranean by the Turks at Constantinople, a port on the Baltic was a necessity; but both shores of that sea were in the hands of Sweden. To gain the site for a Baltic port, far more than to win new prov-

inces, Peter the Great embarked upon a war against the Swedish king, Charles XII.

365. Sweden after the Thirty Years' War (1648–1700)

For some decades after the Thirty Years' War, Sweden's possessions almost surrounded the Baltic Sea, and she was the first power of the North; but when the Swedes, then in alliance with Louis XIV., attacked Brandenburg, they experienced their first great defeat (1675) at Fehrbellin. A period of peace followed, devoted to commerce, industry, and internal reforms. When Charles XII. (1697–1718) ascended the throne as a boy of fifteen, the occasion seemed favorable to despoil Sweden; and Peter the Great joined Poland and Denmark for that purpose.

The allies miscalculated the character of the young king, for Charles XII. was a man of exceptional ability and power, with a genius for war: although of unblemished private life, he showed passion and obstinacy in his public relations; while the czar, though governed by gross passion and whim in private affairs, was guided in political action by reason and reflection. The French philosopher Voltaire said of Charles that he "carried all the heroic virtues to such excess that they became as dangerous as the opposite vices."

366. Beginning of the Northern War (1700–1706)

Without waiting for attack, Charles took the offensive and invaded Denmark; and before her allies could come up, Denmark was forced to make peace (August, 1700). Then Charles turned to meet the czar, who was attacking the Swedish provinces on the Gulf of Finland. With eight thousand disciplined men against the sixty thousand still half-trained troops of Peter, Charles won a brilliant victory at Narva (November, 1700). Poland was next invaded, and there for five years the war continued. Charles XII. occupied the capital, Warsaw, and drove the king, Augustus II. of Saxony, into his German dominions. In 1703 he procured the election of a rival king (Stanislas Leszczynski) from among the Polish nobles. Finally he invaded Saxony itself, and in September,

1706, Augustus was forced to accept his deposition from the Polish throne and withdraw from the Russian alliance.

Peter the Great, meanwhile, had conquered the Swedish provinces about the Gulf of Finland, and in 1703 began to build there his new capital, St. Petersburg, amid the marshes and low-lying islands about the mouth of the river Neva. To deepen the channels and make ready the land for building purposes, an army of peasants was kept at work. The level of the islands was raised, and countless piles were driven into the swamps as supports for the heavy foundations of the buildings. Lack of provisions and shelter, with constant toil in the cold and wet, cost thousands of lives. Every cart entering the place, and every vessel sailing up the Neva, was forced to bring a specified quantity of building stones, while the construction of stone buildings in other parts of the empire was temporarily forbidden. To furnish inhabitants, thirty thousand peasants were transported thither at one stroke; and the nobles were required to maintain, in the new capital, houses proportionate to their means. To embellish the city, foreign workmen and artists were imported. Thus, against gigantic obstacles, Peter obtained his coveted "window toward the West," and freed his successors from the conservative trammels of Moscow.

367. Founding of St. Petersburg (1703)

The War of the Spanish Succession (§§ 324–327) was going on at the same time with the Northern War, and alliance with Charles XII. was sought by both sides. Charles might have played the rôle of arbiter of Europe; but reasons of policy, as well as chimerical ambition, led him to refuse the part. In the spring of 1708 he directed his arms against Russia, where he hoped to rival the exploits of Alexander the Great. Refusing battle (as in 1812, against Napoleon), the Russians retired upon Moscow, with the Swedes in pursuit. The winter, the most severe of the century, passed with Moscow still untaken. Spring found Charles in the ex-

368. Charles XII. invades Russia (1708)

treme south, where, with reënforcements and supplies cut off, he laid siege to Pultava. To the advice that he retreat while there was yet time, he replied, "If an angel should descend from heaven and order me to depart from here, I would not go." When Peter arrived to relieve the city, the Swedes, outnumbered two to one, were defeated. Charles's army was almost entirely destroyed or captured, and he himself escaped with difficulty to Turkish soil.

369. Death of Charles XII. (1718)

With unbending obstinacy Charles XII. stirred up the sultan to war against Russia. Peter's army was entrapped by the Turks, but Peter purchased peace by the return of Azof to Turkey (1711). Charles XII., indignant at the peace, behaved like a madman. When, with but two companions, he reached his Baltic possessions he found his outlying territories almost entirely lost and the Swedish power in ruins. Four years later, while attempting the conquest of Norway, his adventurous life was ended in the siege of Frederikshald.

370. End of the Northern War (1721)

The death of Charles XII. made it easier to end the Northern War, and the peace of Nystadt between Sweden and Russia, in 1721, was the last of a series of treaties with that purpose. Augustus of Saxony was restored to the Polish throne; most of Sweden's possessions in Germany (p. 339) were given to Prussia and Hanover; and Russia secured the provinces about the Gulf of Finland, the lion's share of the booty. Sweden sank to the position of a third-rate state; while Russia, rising to the position of foremost power of the North, began to make its voice heard in European councils.

371. Russia after Peter the Great (1725–1796)

At the death of Peter the Great in 1725, Russia had taken on the form of a modern state. But the ancient despotism changed its form without changing its substance; Russia remained at bottom an oriental state with a heritage of manners and ideas borrowed mainly from Byzantine and Mongol civilizations: to Europe it seemed like a monster and a disquieting enigma.

After Peter's death the government for seventy years (excepting three brief intervals) was in the hands of women; it was a time of palace revolutions, of struggles between native Russians and foreign favorites, between oligarchical and absolutist factions. The Empress Elizabeth (1741–1762), daughter of Peter the Great, adopted a reactionary policy at home, but acted vigorously in foreign affairs. The immoral but ener-

The Present Winter Palace, St. Petersburg.
Built 1754–1769; restored 1839.

getic Catherine II. (1762–1796) is accounted one of the chief founders of the Russian Empire; she took up the work of Peter the Great, and fostered western civilization, while the boundaries of the country were extended in every direction. Thenceforth Russia extended to the heart of Asia; it was the only country of Europe that could increase indefinitely by absorbing barbarian lands.

(B) Prussia

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw also the rise in power of another northern state — Prussia. Since 1415 Brandenburg had been a possession of the house of Hohenzollern — the family of the present German emperor; but until the seventeenth century there was noth-

372. Union of Brandenburg and Prussia (1609–1618)

ing to show that it was destined to leadership among German states, though its territories slowly grew. The first half of the seventeenth century, however, brought three events of importance.

(1) Some small territories upon the Rhine were acquired through the death of the Duke of Cleves and Jülich (1609). A dispute arose over this inheritance, in which the principal powers of Europe took sides; but Cleves and other small provinces were united to Brandenburg, and gave her a footing in western Germany.

(2) In 1618 a large part of Prussia was acquired. This land was conquered from the heathen Slavs in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Knights (§ 101); but Poland had annexed its western half, and forced the Knights to hold East Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown by the treaty of Thorn (1466). At the time of the Reformation the Grand Master of the Knights, who was a member of the Hohenzollern family, dissolved the order on Luther's advice, and formed a secular duchy (1525). In 1618 his line became extinct, and the duchy fell, by previous arrangement, to the Brandenburg line of Hohenzollern, thereby almost doubling the territories of the Elector of Brandenburg and paving the way for future aggrandizements.

(3) The accession of the Great Elector, Frederick William, in 1640, did much to remove the ill effects of the Thirty Years' War. To natural gifts of a high order he added the advantages of education at a Dutch university. The territories to which he succeeded lay in three widely separated groups, — the Brandenburg territories, the Cleves territories, and the Prussian territories: the consolidation, increase, and development of these *nuclei* became his life work.

373. The Great Elector, Frederick William (1640–1688)

By the treaty of Westphalia (1648) Frederick William secured eastern Pomerania, together with a group of secu-

larized bishoprics on the west; the gaps separating Brandenburg from its sister territories were thus narrowed. By adroitly using the opportunities offered by wars between Sweden and Poland, Frederick William obtained, in 1660, his highest political triumph — a renunciation of Polish suzerainty over Prussia. His greatest military success was an overwhelming victory over the Swedes won at Fehrbellin in 1675 (§ 365).

Brandenburg-Prussia under the Great Elector (1640–1688).

While increasing his dominions, and enhancing his prestige abroad, Frederick William also busied himself with internal reform. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were all encouraged; roads were built, and a waterway — the Frederick William Canal — joined the Oder to the Elbe, and secured a free outlet to the North Sea. French Huguenot emigrants to the number of twenty thousand were made welcome, their skill and industry proving a valuable acquisition. The army was brought to a high degree of perfection. The administration of the three groups of territories was merged into one, and absolutism established: we may regret the lost liberties of the Estates, but the unity, strength, and good order of the realm were thereby increased. The work of Frederick William is well summarized by his great-grandson, Frederick II.: "With small means he did great things; was himself his own

prime minister and general in chief, and rendered flourishing a state which he had found buried under its own ruins."

His less capable son Frederick added to his electoral and ducal titles the higher one of king. "Great in small and small in great things," his mind dwelt much upon matters of etiquette and ceremonial. At an interview with William III. the latter, as king of England, occupied an armchair, while Elector Frederick was given one without arms: thenceforth offended dignity joined with motives of policy to urge him to seek the title of king. The head of the Holy Roman Empire was the source from which such honor should come, and eventually the Emperor's need of military assistance forced from him a grant of the coveted dignity in January, 1701. The Emperor's pride was saved, while fuller independence was achieved for the new royalty, by making the title "Frederick I., King in Prussia," since Prussia lay outside the empire.

374. Prussia becomes a kingdom (1701)

Frederick's son, King Frederick William I. (1713–1740), resembled his grandfather, the Great Elector, in his diligence, economy, and careful attention to administration, and his father in his tendency to eccentricities. Realizing the weakness of Prussia's frontiers, his chief aims were to secure a strong army and a well-filled treasury. Economies were made in every department, the number of royal riding horses being cut down from one thousand to thirty, and a rigid supervision, the beginning of the Prussian bureaucracy, was introduced to prevent wastefulness and theft. Careful attention was also given to increasing the revenues, in part through a better administration of the crown lands.

375. King Frederick William I. (1713–1740)

Manufactures were encouraged, and foreign weavers were induced to settle in Prussia by the offer of a wife, loom, and supply of raw material. When the Catholic Archbishop of Salzburg (in 1731) drove out his Protestant subjects, fifteen thousand were received in Prussia, where they founded six new

towns and many villages. The Prussian nobles, who had the old feudal repugnance to taxes, were forced by Frederick William to pay their full share; to a remonstrance that "the whole country would be ruined," the king bluntly replied, "I don't believe a word of it, but I do believe the political independence of the country nobles will be ruined."

Under Frederick William's fostering care the Prussian army was doubled in numbers and greatly increased in efficiency.

Giant Soldier of Frederick William.

376. The king's tall soldiers

Tall soldiers were his hobby, and through the payment of large sums, kidnapping, and presents of giants from friendly powers, he obtained a palace guard that was the wonder of Europe. He watched over his "children in blue" like a father; but his ready cane chastised them for the slightest offense.

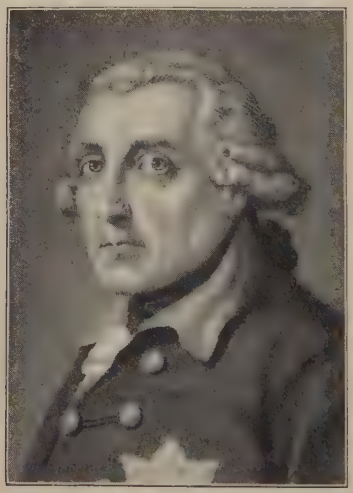
Not merely soldiers, but servants, citizens, and even his children, suffered chastisement when they incurred the royal ire; his eye and his stick were everywhere. His idea of kingship was patriarchal absolutism; he was a ruder, simpler, more primitive Louis XIV. He would establish his sovereignty, he wrote, "like a rock of bronze." Even his famous "tobacco parliament," where officers, citizens, scholars, and foreign travelers smoked and drank with him, would on occasion be converted into an informal council of state, at which the weightiest measures were discussed. In his only war (1713) he acquired a part of Swedish (western) Pomerania and the convenient port of Stettin, at the mouth of the river Oder.

377. Youth of Frederick the Great (1712–1740)

The education which the king planned for his son and heir, the future Frederick the Great, was hard, practical, and matter-of-fact; but the prince's own inclinations, joined to his mother's and teacher's secret efforts, supplemented

it with studies in literature, music, and art. Young Frederick showed himself as self-willed as his father, and an estrangement sprang up, which was widened by a public flogging. To make matters worse, the prince, who was an officer in the Prussian army, attempted to flee from the kingdom; this was desertion punishable with death, and the beheading of his accomplice before his eyes went far to cure the prince of his levity.

Then followed the "second education" of young Frederick. To discipline him and train him in the practical work of administration, his father set him to work in the War and Domain Office as assistant clerk. This experience sobered and strengthened him, and prepared him for his duties as king; but his education also developed in him cynicism and hypocrisy. His apprenticeship over, he was restored to favor, and soon was allowed to set up a little court of his own, where he surrounded himself with a brilliant circle. He entered into correspondence with the skeptical French philosopher Voltaire, and wrote a refutation of the political treatise of Machiavelli (§ 234). To the superficial observer, he seemed likely to prove anything but the unscrupulous master of war and statecraft that his reign showed him to be.



FREDERICK THE GREAT.
From a painting by J. Moller.

Frederick II. succeeded his father in 1740 at the age of twenty-eight. A few months later the Emperor Charles VI. died, leaving no son; but he had secured the assent of Europe (including Prussia) to a document called the

378. First Silesian War (1740-1742)

Pragmatic Sanction, by which his daughter, Maria Theresa, was recognized as queen over all his dominions.

This was Frederick's opportunity; he desired above all else military glory, and he had at his back one of the finest armies of Europe and a well-filled treasure chest. "It is only a matter of carrying out plans," he wrote, "which I have long had in my head." Without a declaration of war, in the dead of winter (1740), he threw his army into Silesia, to which he had some shadowy claims: it was sheer brigandage. Austria could at first offer no resistance; and when her forces did appear, they were defeated (at Mollwitz, 1741; map, p. 410). The efficiency of the Prussian army was established, and Europe recognized that a new power had arisen.

At once Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, and Saxony all set up claims of various sorts to parts of the Hapsburg dominions; and there followed the general War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748): "from the banks of the Oder the war spread successively to the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, the Po, then of the Scheldt and the Meuse, and beyond the seas." Under French leadership a league was formed which disregarded the traditions of three centuries and put a Wittelsbach — Charles VII., Elector of Bavaria — on the imperial throne.

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, VIII. 169

In this crisis Maria Theresa needed all her splendid courage and energy. Political concessions, joined to the pathetic situation of the young queen, moved the Hungarians and her other subjects to enthusiastic support; her chief hope, however, lay in breaking up the alliance. Frederick II. was willing to abandon his allies; and after a second victory of the Prussians (at Chotusitz, in May, 1742), Maria Theresa signed the peace of Berlin (July, 1742), by which Frederick received practically the whole of Silesia, and ended what is known as the First Silesian War.

379. Maria Theresa's heroic defense

Freed from one enemy, Maria Theresa turned energetically

to meet the others. The French and the Bavarians were beaten, but meanwhile the range of the struggle widened. Holland and Great Britain (whose king as Elector of Hanover was intimately concerned with German politics) took up arms on the side of Austria; while the Bourbons of France and Spain entered into a "family compact" mutually to guarantee their possessions.

MARIA THERESA.
From a painting by J. Moller.

380. Second Silesian War (1744-1745)

The successes of Maria Theresa rightly caused Frederick to feel apprehensive for the safety of his recent conquests; he resented, too, the Hapsburg occupation of Bavaria. He therefore entered into renewed alliance with France, and invaded Bohemia (1744), but was soon obliged to fall back discredited into Silesia. The French, upon whose assistance he counted, repaid his former desertion by neglecting the Silesian war. The Emperor Charles VII., in whose interests Frederick pretended to fight, died in 1745; and his son made peace and aided the election of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I. (1745–1765) to the imperial throne. To render Frederick's situation more desperate, Saxony agreed with Austria to partition Prussia, and reduce his kingdom to the ancient limits of Brandenburg. Nevertheless, Frederick defeated the combined Austrians and Saxons; and on Christmas Day, 1745, a second peace was signed at Dresden, by which Frederick II. again laid down arms, on condition of the renewed cession of Silesia.

The general war meanwhile took on a new significance. In America the English colonists captured Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island (1745). In India, also, and on the sea England fought France: "it was recognized in London and at Versailles that the questions at issue involved not merely the preservation of the Pragmatic Sanction, but the supremacy of the sea, the superiority of the Latin or the Teutonic element in North America, and the growth of the influence of France and England in India."

Hassall, Balance of Power, 169

For the settlement of questions so momentous as these, the time was not yet ripe. All parties grew tired of the war, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, a general peace was signed. Maria Theresa was recognized as ruler of the Hapsburg lands, with the exception of Silesia, which was confirmed to Prussia; all other conquests were mutually restored. Frederick alone profited much from the war. It inaugurated, as Frederick predicted, "an entire change in the old political system" of Europe; but the nature and results of the transformation became apparent only after the peace.

381. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the decline of old powers in the north and east of Europe and the rise of new ones. Sweden, whose power was founded upon her army, sank in importance, while her neighbors, Prussia and Russia, rose. Russia's greatness was founded ultimately upon her vast territories and the numbers of her people; but for the European stamp fixed upon these she was indebted to Peter the Great (1689–1725). The Prussian-Brandenburg lands, being without defensible frontiers and surrounded by hostile neighbors, could rise to independent greatness only through military power, based upon industrial development and governmental absolutism. To the Great Elector (1640–1688) and King Frederick William I. (1713–1740) belong the credit for starting Prussia upon this development, the fruition of which

382. Summary

came with Frederick the Great (1740–1786). The two Silesian wars, which form parts of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), mark Frederick's entrance into European politics. Into this same contest entered France and Great Britain, and thereby the war over the Austrian succession became one phase of that long rivalry for sea-power and dominion in America and India which in the eighteenth century characterized the relations of these two states.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Compare the condition of Russia at the accession of Peter the Great with that of the Frankish kingdom at the accession of Charlemagne. (2) What advantages had Peter over Charlemagne in the development of this state? (3) Was Charles XII. or Peter the Great the better general? (4) Which was the better statesman? (5) What territorial advantages did Russia have over other European states? What disadvantages? (6) On what grounds could absolute government for Prussia be justified at that time? Do these reasons exist to-day? (7) Were the actions of Frederick the Great in harmony with his denunciation of the political principles of Machiavelli? (8) Was Frederick's attack on Austria worse than that of Peter the Great on Sweden? (9) Why did the War of the Austrian Succession spread to India and North America? (10) Why did the power of Sweden decline? (11) Why did Frederick I. wish to make Prussia a kingdom?

Search topics

(12) Early history of Russia. (13) Training of Peter the Great. (14) His reforms. (15) Geographical causes of the expansion of Russia. (16) Russian conquest of Siberia. (17) Charles XII. of Sweden. (18) The Great Elector of Prussia. (19) King Frederick William I. (20) His love for tall soldiers. (21) The Salzburg Protestants. (22) Youth of Frederick the Great. (23) Maria Theresa of Hungary. (24) Frederick's claim on Silesia. (25) Frederick the Great and Voltaire.

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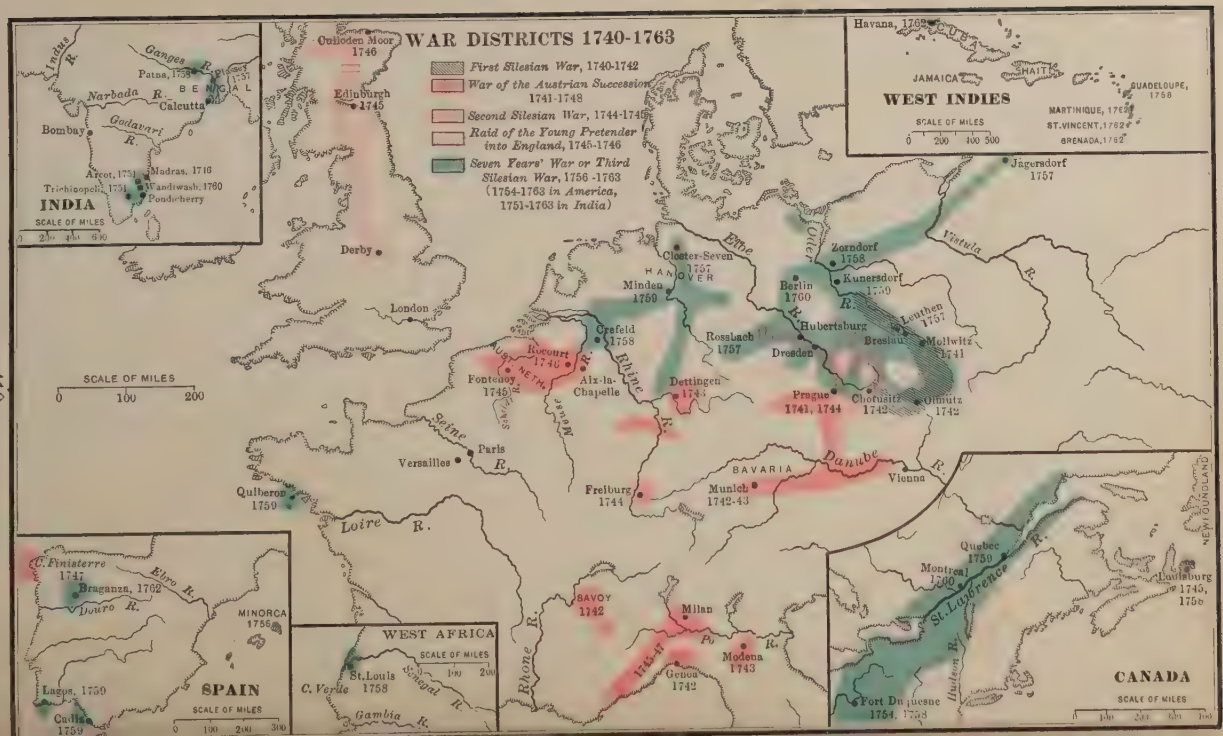

WAR DISTRICTS 1740-1763
First Silesian War, 1740-1742
War of the Austrian Succession 1741-1748
Second Silesian War, 1744-1745
Raid of the Young Pretender into England, 1745-1746
Seven Years' War or Third Silesian War, 1756-1763 (1754-1763 in America, 1751-1763 in India)
INDIA
SCALE OF MILES
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Narbada R.
Godavari R.
Patna, 1758
BENGAL
Calcutta
Bombay
Arcot, 1751
Madras, 1746
Trichinopoli, 1751
Wandiwash, 1760
Pondicherry
Culloden Moor 1746
Edinburgh 1745
Derby
London
WEST INDIES
Havana, 1762
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
GUADELOUPE, 1758
MARTINIQUE, 1762
ST.-VINCENT, 1762
GRENADA, 1762
SCALE OF MILES
Jägerdorf 1757
Zorndorf 1758
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Closter-Seven 1757
HANOVER
Minden 1759
Berlin 1760
Kunersdorf 1759
Leuthen 1757
Hubertsburg
Breslau
Mollwitz 1741
Rossbach 1757
Dresden
Grefeld 1758
Rocourt 1746
AUST. NETH.
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
Fontenoy 1745
Aix-la-Chapelle
Dettingen 1743
Prague 1741, 1744
Chotusitz 1742
Olmutz 1742
SCALE OF MILES
Seine R.
Paris
Versailles
Quiberon 1759
Loire R.
Freiburg 1744
BAVARIA
Munich 1742-43
Danube R.
Vienna
C. Finisterre 1747
Braganza, 1762
Ebro R.
Douro R.
MINORCA 1756
Lagos, 1759
SPAIN
Cadiz 1759
SCALE OF MILES
WEST AFRICA
SCALE OF MILES
St. Louis 1758
C. Verde
Senegal R.
Gambia R.
Rhone R.
SAVOY 1742
Milan
Po R.
Modena 1743
1745-46
Genoa 1742
Quebec 1759
Montreal 1760
St. Lawrence R.
Louisburg 1745, 1758
NEWFOUNDLAND
Hudson Bay
Fort Duquesne 1754, 1758
CANADA
SCALE OF MILES

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT (1748–1786)

Louis XV., the great-grandson and successor of Louis XIV. (§ 329), was a sickly child, and was not expected to live. His uncle, Philip V. of Spain, in spite of the treaty of Utrecht (§ 328), aspired to the regency and to the succession; but the regency passed into other hands, and Louis XV. lived to rival in the length of his reign Louis XIV. himself.

383. Regency in France (1715–1723)

The Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV., and regent, stood next in succession to the throne, if the exclusion of Philip V. held good; his energies, therefore, were chiefly directed to maintaining the treaty of Utrecht. Hence he permitted his minister, the clever and unscrupulous but far-sighted diplomat, Dubois, to ally France with Great Britain and Holland, her late enemies. In other ways also the regency marks a reaction: Orleans, although indolent and vicious in his private life, was able, tolerant, and open to the new scientific and philosophical impulses of the day; he curtailed the influence of the Jesuits in France, and even thought of recalling the Huguenots.

In the financial administration, a Scotchman named John Law bore the chief part. He was a great believer in the power of credit, which, properly safeguarded, plays to-day so important a part in the world's financial operations. He sought to establish in France a huge national bank, such as England had possessed since 1694; and also a great commercial company, popularly known as the Mississippi Company, which was to secure the monopoly of French com-

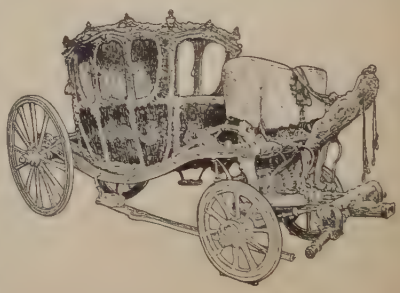
384. The "Mississippi Bubble" (1718-1721)

merce with Louisiana, Canada, Senegal, and the East Indies. For a time both enterprises prospered, and a mania for speculation sent the shares up to fabulous prices. "Everybody was mad upon Mississippi stock. Immense fortunes were made almost in a breath. . . . People could not change their lands and their houses into paper fast enough." The inevitable result of overissue of stock and notes was that the "Mississippi Bubble" burst in 1720, and Law and his followers were overwhelmed in ruin. The English also, about the same time, were caught in a similar "South Sea Bubble."

St. Simon, Memoirs, IV. 158

The young king, Louis XV., was declared of age in 1723. For a time he was restrained by the influence of Cardinal Fleury, his chief minister; but after Fleury's death (1743) he showed that he cared for little save his pleasures. As time went on, he fell under the sway of shameless mistresses, of whom the most noted were Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry. For the misfortunes and misgovernment of his reign Louis XV. felt no sense of responsibility; if retribution came upon his successors, that was no concern of his. "Things will outlast our time," said he; and Madame de Pompadour added recklessly, "After us, the deluge!"

385. Policy of Louis XV. (1723–1748)



Chariot of Louis XV.
In the Musée Cluny, Paris.

At the age of fifteen (1725), Louis XV. married the daughter of Stanislas Leszczynski, the Polish nobleman whom Charles XII. of Sweden placed for a time on the Polish throne (§ 366). This led Louis, against the better judgment of Cardinal Fleury, to join with Spain and Sardinia in a war against Austria, Russia, and Saxony, to recover for Stan-

386. War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735)

islas the crown of Poland. The war was fought largely in Italy. The treaty of peace (1738) rejected the claim of Stanislas to Poland, but compensated him with the grant of Lorraine, which upon his death (1766) passed to the French crown, thus joining Alsace more closely to France, and rounding out the conquests of two centuries (map, p. 350). Austria was forced to cede Naples and Sicily to a Spanish Bourbon prince, the founder of a line of Neapolitan Bourbons who reigned (with an interval from 1806 to 1815) till 1861.

The part which France took in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) has already been described (§§ 378–381). The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which closed that war in 1748 (§ 381), was far from a permanent adjustment. Maria Theresa bitterly resented the provision which left Silesia in the hands of Frederick the Great; and France felt that her prestige was impaired by the rapid rise of Prussia, and that her interests in India and North America were threatened by the growth of English trade and colonization.

387. Rearrangement of alliances (1756)

Nevertheless, renewal of war was postponed for eight years, during which time a change in alliances took place which amounted to a diplomatic revolution. "Austria and France laid aside the enmity of two hundred years, ceased to be rivals, and formed an alliance which continued till the French Revolution; . . . while England found an ally in Prussia." The Austrian minister Kaunitz, convinced that Austria's traditional alliance with England would never recover Silesia, took the first step toward the change; and the outbreak of hostilities between the English and the French in India and America — the prelude to a new European conflict — led Great Britain to take the second. George II. of Great Britain (§ 360) was concerned chiefly for the safety of his Hanoverian electorate; and he concluded a treaty with Prussia, which led Austria, in indignation at this act, to make a formal alliance with France (May, 1756).

Hassall, Balance of Power, 206

In the war which followed, France, instead of concentrating her strength upon the struggle in India, America, and on the sea, wasted her energies on the European struggle. This "act of madness, of imbecile treason against herself," could only have taken place under a weak and slothful king such as Louis XV. It led to a decline of French influence in Europe, to the loss of her colonies in America, and to the transfer of the chief influence in India from France to England.

388. Opening of the Seven Years' War (1756)

In Europe the war began with a sudden invasion of Saxony by Frederick the Great in 1756 (Third Silesian War) to anticipate an impending attack by Austria, Russia, and Saxony; he rightly judged that his best chance for safety lay in striking first. In this war Frederick displayed all his splendid powers of generalship. His army was the best drilled and the best equipped in Europe, and was enthusiastically loyal; he was served by able generals, animated by his own spirit and trained under his own eye. The French armies, on the other hand, had lost their efficiency. The controlling influence at the French court was Madame de Pompadour, who caused ministers and generals to be appointed and dismissed at pleasure. Louis XV. further complicated matters by his practice of corresponding secretly with his ambassadors, giving them instructions which were at times diametrically opposed to those officially received from the French foreign office.

Woman's Dress in Court of Louis XV.

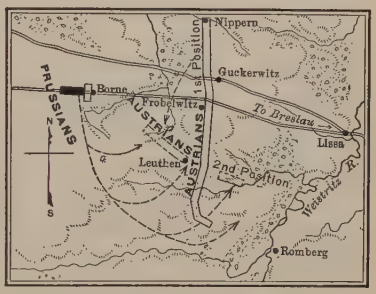
The forces of Maria Theresa, however, had learned of Frederick the art of war; and a series of administrative re-

forms, inspired by those of Prussia, enabled Austria more effectually to utilize her resources. Before the British alliance began to show its good effects, Frederick likened himself to a stag against which a "pack of kings and princes" had been loosed. In the course of the war his fortunes sank to their lowest ebb, but disaster only inspired him to renewed exertions.

The war in Europe may be divided into three distinct periods: —

389. Course of the war in Europe (1756–1763)

(1) The campaign of 1756 opened with Prussian successes in Saxony, followed by reverses in Bohemia, Hanover, and East Prussia; then came Frederick's brilliant victories at Rossbach, in Saxony, and Leuthen, in Silesia (1757): of the last-named battle Napoleon Bonaparte later said, "It was a masterpiece in the way of evolutions, maneuvers, and determination, and would alone have sufficed to make Frederick immortal, and to rank him among the greatest generals."



Battle of Leuthen.

(2) From 1758 to 1760 Frederick again suffered disastrous reverses. The Russians overran East Prussia and Brandenburg, and with the aid of the Austrians they overwhelmingly defeated Frederick at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder (1759). "The consequences of the battle," Frederick wrote, "will be worse than the battle itself. I have no more resources, and, not to hide the truth, I consider that all is lost." His enemies, however, disagreed, and failed to follow up their victory; and, in spite of the surprise and burning of Berlin (1760), Frederick succeeded once more, though with increased difficulty, in recovering the advantage.

(3) From 1761 to 1763 Prussia was almost exhausted. Year by year the war drained Frederick's resources, until it was only by the greatest efforts that his army could be kept in the field. To add to his difficulties, George III., who succeeded to the British throne in 1760, broke off the Prussian alliance and stopped paying the money subsidies which had materially aided Frederick in carrying on the war. The greatest crisis in Frederick's affairs was at hand.

At this juncture Peter III. came momentarily to the throne of Russia; he was an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, and at once made peace, which his successor, Catherine II., ratified (1762). "Heaven still stands by us," wrote Frederick, "and everything will turn out well." The result justified his belief; but the remainder of the war on the Continent, in Carlyle's words, was "like a race between spent horses." Even Maria Theresa at last recognized the hopelessness of continuing the struggle.

Of far more importance than the war in Europe was the apparently minor contest between Great Britain and France for the control of the seas and for dominance in North America. Spain and then Holland successively had held and lost the supremacy of the seas and colonial empire; and the commercial and maritime instincts of the English had embroiled them in frequent wars with both countries. The marked commercial and colonial activity displayed by France in the middle of the eighteenth century aroused not merely the jealousy of the English at home, but the fears of English colonists in America. They had good reasons of their own for fighting the French, and after the accession of William III. every war between the two countries was extended to North America. King William's War (1689–1697) was followed by Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and this by King George's War (1744–1748). To antipathies of race, government, and religion was added a conflict of material interests, especially

390. French and English in America (1689–1754)

in the Mississippi valley, where the French were trying to connect Canada and lower Louisiana by a chain of forts, and thus to cut off the chartered claims of the English colonists to the land "from sea to sea"; hemmed in by the French and Spaniards, the English colonists would be exposed to constant danger. The issue would decide whether North America should be ruled by the Latin or by the Teutonic race; whether it should be self-governed or despotically ruled. With commercial and colonial supremacy at stake for Englishmen at home, and such vital interests of the colonists at issue, it is not surprising that Great Britain's hostility to France dominated all her other international relations, and made her part in the Seven Years' War mainly a struggle for colonial dominion and sea power.

Indeed, in the Seven Years' War, the outbreak of hostilities in America preceded the beginning of the European war. As early as 1754 young George Washington was here fighting the French; and in 1755, still a year before Frederick's invasion of Saxony, came Braddock's expedition and defeat. On the seas the British navy seized three hundred French merchant vessels and two frigates before the formal declaration of war on May 15, 1756.

391. Seven Years' War in America (1755–1763)

In 1757 the administration in Great Britain passed, for the first time in some years, into the hands of a really able man — William Pitt the elder (called "the Great Commoner"), who was later made Earl of Chatham. He found the war languishing, the natural result of favoritism, corruption, and incompetence. The island of Minorca, which had been British for half a century, was lost in 1756. "I am sure that I can save the country," Pitt boasted with proud confidence, "and that no one else can." Against his will George II. was obliged to accept Pitt as chief minister, and until 1761 the direction of the war was in his hands.

While vigorously aiding Frederick the Great in Germany

and driving the French from the seas, Pitt did not neglect the colonial war. In 1758 the British took Louisburg and Fort Duquesne — thenceforth called Pittsburg; and in 1759 fell Quebec, "the Gibraltar of America." In spite of the entrance of Spain into the war as the ally of France, in 1762, the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, and the rest of the French West Indies passed into British hands. Great Britain's maritime power was established beyond dispute; France's colonial empire in America came practically to an end; and the British colonies could freely develop their heritage of political and religious liberty.

392. French and English in India (1600–1751)

In the East Indies, from 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese, as a result of their maritime enterprise, culminating in Gama's famous voyage (§ 218), enjoyed a trade monopoly; but at the close of the sixteenth century they were losing ground to the English, Dutch, and French. The English East India Company, which represented English interests in India, was chartered in 1600; and in the eighteenth century it possessed trading stations at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Friction with the Dutch in the East Indies, culminating (in 1623) in a massacre of English traders and seamen there, at Amboyna, led the English company to withdraw from the islands, and to confine its subsequent activity to the Asian mainland. The French also had several stations in India, of which the chief, Pondicherry, was not far from Madras.

India, unlike America, was a tropical country, thickly populated, ruled by established governments, and possessed of a civilization older and in some respects more advanced than that of Europe. Colonization such as had taken place on the American continent was thus out of the question; and the European settlements were at first mere trading stations, not attempting political control.

Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry (1742–1754), was the first to see the possibilities of conquest in India and

devise the means by which to effect this. The natives, when properly drilled and officered, made excellent soldiers (Sepoys), and their lack of all sentiment of nationality rendered possible a conquest of India by natives for the benefit of Europe. The British, in self-defense, organized similar troops. In 1751, on the occasion of a dispute between two rival "nabobs" (rulers) of Arcot, the French and British took opposite sides,

MANSION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, LONDON.
From an old print.

and thus began a struggle for the mastery in India (1751–1761), which merged into the Seven Years' War.

393. Supremacy in India won for Great Britain (1751–1761)

On the British side the hero of the war was Robert Clive (1725–1774), who proved not only his genius for war, but also the loyalty and stanchness of his Sepoy troops. Dupleix, whose worth and work were little appreciated in France, was recalled in disgrace in 1754. In 1756 the nabob of Bengal quarreled with the British, and imprisoned

over a hundred persons in a small, close dungeon (the "Black Hole" of Calcutta), where five sixths died before morning. The horror of this deed forced upon the British the conquest of Bengal, which was accomplished by the battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757). The French, meanwhile, steadily lost ground through mismanagement, incompetence, and lack of support at home; in 1760 came the defeat of the French at Wandiwash, and with it went the overthrow of French influence in India.

After the close of the Seven Years' War, the English East India Company was practically without a rival. Its efforts were still devoted chiefly to trade, and it was only gradually that functions of government passed into its hands. Under Warren Hastings, the first governor general of India (1774–1785), the full administration of Bengal was undertaken, and in various ways control was exercised over regions in which native princes continued to rule. The anomaly of a commercial company governing an empire led the British Parliament, in 1784, to establish a governmental Board of Control in England to supervise the political side of the company's action; but it was not until 1858 that the company government came entirely to an end (§ 571).

394. Close of the Seven Years' War (1762–1763)

In 1763 the Seven Years' War was brought to a close. The new king of Great Britain, George III. (1760–1820), resented the rule of the aristocratic Whig families, and favored peace as the best means of ridding himself of that party. Pitt was forced out of office, but was rewarded with the title of Earl of Chatham; and his successor, Lord Bute, then (1762) agreed with France to withdraw from the Continental war.

The terms of the final peace of Paris, in 1763, though very advantageous, were by many Englishmen deemed insufficient. Canada was ceded to Great Britain, together with Grenada, St. Vincent, and others of the French West Indies. Spain was forced to give up Florida, which remained British until 1783;

as recompense, France ceded to Spain the city of New Orleans and its claims to the Louisiana territory lying west of the Mississippi. Manila and the Philippines, captured by the British from Spain while the negotiations were in progress, were restored. In India, France was allowed to retain only a few unimportant trading posts.

The treaty of Hubertsburg, signed a few days after that of Paris, made a peace between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, by which Silesia remained with Prussia. Austria's only gain lay in Frederick's agreement that Maria Theresa's son, Joseph, should succeed his father, Francis I., as Emperor.

395. Results of the war

The results of the Continental war were greatly inadequate to its cost. About 850,000 men perished in the struggle, of whom 180,000 fell in Prussia's service. "It is singular," says Bernis, a French minister of the time, "that all the courts have missed their goal in this war. The king of Prussia has gained much glory in dominating the courts of Europe, but he will leave to his heir a power lacking in solidity; he has ruined his people, exhausted his treasury, depopulated his states. The Empress [Maria Theresa] has increased her reputation for courage, power, and the efficiency of her troops, but she has not accomplished one of the objects she set before herself. Russia has shown to Europe the most invincible soldiery, but the worst led. The Swedes have played uselessly an obscure and subordinate rôle. Our own part has been extravagant and shameful." Only Great Britain had profited by the war, but her enormous gain was won not in Europe, but in America, in India, and on the seas: "the kingdom of Great Britain had become the British Empire."

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, VII. 257

396. Growth of England's sea power

Sea power was both the object and the principal weapon of England in all her wars with France from 1688 to 1815; according to Captain Mahan, it rests upon "(1) production, with the necessity of exchanging products;

(2) shipping, whereby the exchange is carried on; and (3) colonies, which facilitate and enlarge the operation of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety." By natural conditions England was marked out for sea power, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century popular sentiment and governmental policy were directed to this end. Holland's maritime power was weakened by the English navigation act (1651), crippled by the English wars which followed, and ruined by the attacks of Louis XIV., which forced her into submissive alliance with England.

Mahan, Sea Power (1660–1783), 28

France's sea power rested upon action by the government rather than by the people; and when Louis XIV. began his Continental conquests, he sacrificed to his land wars France's colonies, shipping, and everything save actual fighting vessels. By 1756 France had but forty-five ships of the line to Great Britain's one hundred and thirty, and her whole navy was demoralized. Her small naval squadrons were soon destroyed by the superior force of her antagonists, her mercantile shipping was swept from the seas, and her colonies fell into British hands. The damage once done could not be repaired; the outcome of the struggle has influenced the whole course of subsequent history. With a land narrow in extent and relatively poor in natural resources, England has grown rich through the possession of sea power, has been enabled to grant large subsidies of money to her Continental allies, and at critical times has played the foremost rôle in European politics.

397. Europe after 1763

From the peace of Hubertsburg to the outbreak of the wars of the French Revolution, in 1792, there was no general European conflict. But at no time has self-interest so flagrantly and unscrupulously been made the rule of action for European states as in the attempts, in this period, to round out territories to symmetrical wholes by despoiling weaker neighbors, especially Sweden, Turkey, and Poland.

Sweden, after the death of Charles XII. in 1718 (§ 369), was

for a time given up to aristocratic anarchy, and it was not until 1789 that Gustavus III. restored the authority of the crown, established order, and thus saved Sweden from the fate to which Poland succumbed.

398. The Eastern Question (1683–1792)

Turkey was exposed to Russian and Austrian attacks, and its overthrow seemed a matter of a very few years. At the height of its power, about 1680, the Ottoman Empire stretched from the headwaters of the river Bug, which flows into the Black Sea, to Raab on the Danube (p. 285), — in Asia to the Euphrates, and in Africa to the cataracts of the Nile. A decline of the Janizaries as a military force paved the way for reconquests by Christian powers, which began in 1683 with the repulse of the Turks from Vienna. Austria then gradually reconquered Hungary and Transylvania; and a treaty in 1739 fixed the Austrian frontier at the Save and Danube rivers. Catherine II. of Russia carried to a successful conclusion two Turkish wars, which established a claim to intervene in behalf of the sultan's Christian subjects, led to the annexation of the Crimea (1787), and pushed the Russian frontier forward to the Dniester (1792). Only the opposition of Great Britain and France prevented the realization of Austrian and Russian designs for the total expulsion of the Turk from Europe; the result was the beginning of the Eastern Question as it confronts Europe to-day.

399. Partitions of Poland (1772–1795)

Against Poland the unscrupulous schemes of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were entirely successful. In the eighteenth century Poland was a hotbed of anarchy, the result of its elective kingship, the feuds of its nobles, the oppression of the lower classes, and the right of any member of the Diet to block business by his *liberum veto*. Her powerful neighbors were thus enabled to carry out the "vast national crime" of her partition. (1) In 1772 the first division was made, Prussia taking the district separating East Prussia from Brandenburg, and Russia and Austria taking districts border-

ing upon their territories. (2) In 1793 Russia and Prussia took further portions. (3) An attempted revolution the next year, under the leadership of the patriot Kosciusko, was made the excuse for a third and final partition in 1795. A state possessing two hundred and eighty thousand square miles of territory, and twelve million inhabitants, was thus by force

PARTITIONS OF POLAND.

wiped off the map. Since that time a new sentiment of nationality has arisen among the Poles, a sentiment which lies at the root of recent troubles of Prussia, Russia, and Austria in their Polish dominions.

400. England under George III. (1760-1820)

The domestic history of Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century deals largely with a series of inventions and changes in manufacturing which we call the Industrial Revolution (§ 477); also of importance

were the political struggles arising out of the attempt of George III. to impose his individual will on the nation, and the loss through revolt of the American colonies. To break down the rule of the great Whig families, George III. sought, through the use of bribes and crown patronage, to build up in Parliament a party subservient to himself, called "the king's friends." He was a good man and was attentive to business, but had very little understanding. "He inflicted more permanent and enduring injuries upon his country," says the English historian Lecky, "than any other modern English king. . . . He spent a long life in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to have been good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to have been bad." His support enabled the Tories to regain control of the government; and for twelve years (1770–1782) the amiable Lord North was nominally prime minister, though he disapproved of many of the measures which his royal master insisted on carrying out: among these was the continuance of the war in America after 1778.

401. Europe and the American War (1775–1783)

The aid given by France to Great Britain's revolted colonies perhaps had motives among the upper classes other than those of selfish policy; but by French statesmen generally the war was regarded mainly as an opportunity for revenge against England. Spain entered into the war (1779) in a vain attempt to secure Gibraltar; Holland was forced into it (1780) by questions of trade. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria formed (in 1780) the "Armed Neutrality of the North," which asserted the doctrine that "free ships make free goods," and sought in general to secure protection for neutral commerce.

The disaster to the British arms at Yorktown (1781), and the menacing aspect of European affairs, finally forced George III. to concede the independence of the colonies, and a general peace was made at Paris in 1782–1783. Spain recovered

Florida, and France received a few islands from Great Britain. Great Britain came out of the war with diminished prestige and curtailed empire, and it was generally believed that her decay had begun. To France the war brought financial bankruptcy, while the example of the American revolt aided the growth of revolutionary ideas: in many ways, therefore, the War of American Independence profoundly affected Europe.

402. The "enlightened despots"

While unscrupulous spoliation was the keynote of international relations, benevolent despotism was the European ideal in internal policy. Governments, it was recognized, existed for the good of the people; but they were to be administered by their rulers; outside of Great Britain the idea of the sovereignty of the people obtained practically no recognition. Among rulers who may be classed as "enlightened despots" were Catherine II. of Russia (1762–1796), Gustavus III. of Sweden (1771–1792), Charles III. of Spain (1759–1788), the Emperor Joseph II. (1765–1790), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786).

PRUSSIA UNDER FREDERICK THE GREAT (1740–1786).

Frederick the Great is the best example of the enlightened despot. "The people are not here for the sake of the rulers," wrote he, "but the rulers for the sake of the people." After

the Seven Years' War he set himself with all his energy to repair his country's ruin. Public funds were used to rebuild houses and to supply horses, carts, and seeds for agriculture, and the serfs on the royal domains were freed. Efforts were made to improve commerce and manufactures, justice and education. In everything Frederick not merely planned the whole, but oversaw the execution of the minutest details: his ministers were mere clerks. Hence, when his master hand was withdrawn by death, the Prussian administrative system fell into decay: in a despotically ruled state all depends upon the character of the head, and a succession of able and benevolent rulers can never be assured.

403. Emperor Joseph II. (1765–1790)

The reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. are peculiarly illustrative of the good and evil sides of enlightened despotism. His scheme of domestic policy for the motley Hapsburg states was "no less than to consolidate all his dominions into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations, and substitute for them a mere administrative division of his whole empire; to merge all nationalities and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway." His edict for religious toleration (1781), and his attempt to abolish serfdom in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, are two out of many laudable but ill-planned measures. The weakness of his whole scheme of reform was that it took no account of religious, national, and class prejudices, and that everything was attempted at once. Most of his reforms, therefore, were overturned in his own lifetime.

Merivale, Historical Studies, 12

404. Eclipse of the Jesuit order (1759–1773)

The expulsion of the Jesuits from the leading Catholic countries was another important event of the last half of the eighteenth century. With prosperity and success the order had deteriorated. In France a Catholic party

called Jansenists vigorously attacked the Jesuits, on the ground that they taught that "the end justifies the means." In many quarters the members engaged in commerce, and the order tended to become a vast trading concern with branch houses in many parts of the world. Portugal began the attack in 1759 by ordering the expulsion of Jesuits throughout Portuguese territory. France, Spain, and Austria adopted similar measures, and finally, in 1773, the Pope was obliged by this united opposition to order the dissolution of the society. Prussia and Russia, in neither of which was there danger from Jesuit influence, were among the few countries which received the exiled Jesuits. The suppression of the order lasted until 1814, when the bull dissolving it was revoked, and the Jesuits were once more restored to favor in Catholic countries.

405. Eighteenth-century literature

In England, Germany, and France the literature of the eighteenth century possessed certain features in common, in spite of local peculiarities. In the early part of the century it was artificial and closely followed classical forms; in the latter part came a return to nature and the beginning of what is known as the Romantic movement.

In Great Britain, the first half of the century saw the works of Addison and Steele, joint authors of the polished essays called the *Spectator*; of Jonathan Swift, the satirist; of Defoe, best known by his *Robinson Crusoe*; and of the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744). The second half of the century saw the works of Fielding and Richardson, who developed the modern English novel; the essays and English dictionary of Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), whose life was entertainingly written by his friend Boswell; the history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon; and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which laid the foundations of the new science of political economy. The reaction toward Romanticism is seen in the Scottish poet, Robert Burns (1759–1796).

In German literature the first great name is that of the critic and dramatist Lessing (1729–1781), whose *Nathan the Wise* enshrines "all that was noblest in the struggles and aspirations of his age, and connects the thought of the eighteenth with that of the nineteenth century." Goethe (1749–1832), author of *Faust* and a universal genius, holds the same place in German literature that Shakespeare does in English and Dante in Italian literature. Schiller (1759–1805) is best known by his poetical drama, *William Tell.* Kant (1724–1804), author of the *Critique of Pure Reason,* made philosophy the absorbing subject of study at the German universities.

In France the great names of the century were those of men who introduced new ideas and ideals, and paved the way for the French Revolution (§§ 411, 412). Chief of these were the dramatist, poet, and reformer Voltaire (1694–1778); the jurist Montesquieu (1689–1755); the encyclopedist Diderot (1713–1784); and Rousseau (1712–1778), a writer on education and social organization. More exclusively literary were Le Sage (1668–1747), author of the novel *Gil Blas*; the witty comedian Beaumarchais (1732–1799); and Bernardin de St. Pierre (1731–1814), author of the charming romance *Paul and Virginia.*

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406. Summary

In the age of Frederick the Great, France declined in power, Russia steadily advanced, and Prussia, while gaining increased influence abroad, became the center about which could crystallize the growing sense of German nationality. Great Britain gained one empire (Canada) in this period; lost another through the revolt of the thirteen American colonies; and in India laid the foundations of a rich and vast dominion through the fortunate enterprise of her traders.

Seeley, Expansion of England, 28–31

"The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century. . . In those three

wars between 1740 and 1783 the struggle, as between England and France, is entirely for the New World. In the first of them the issue is fairly joined; in the second France suffers her fatal fall; in the third she takes her signal revenge."

The eighteenth century witnessed, at the same time and from the same sources, the partitions of Poland and the reforms of the enlightened despots. The principles of the sovereignty of the people, of nationality as a necessary basis for the state, and of individual liberty were foreign to the policies of the time; but in the intellectual and moral life a new spirit appeared, preparing the way for the introduction of those ideas into political action. The older order was about to be summoned to the bar, to give place to a new one; and it was France which "held, and was about to sound, the trumpet of judgment."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What does the rage to invest in Mississippi and South Sea stock show concerning the amount of capital at the time? Why could such things not have happened in the Middle Ages? (2) Was the change of alliances in 1756 wise or unwise for France? For Austria? For Prussia? For Great Britain? (3) Was Frederick the Great justified in attacking Saxony in 1756? (4) To what was Frederick's final success in the Seven Years' War due? (5) What caused the war in America? (6) What caused it in India? (7) From the standpoint of general history which was more important, the war in Europe or the war in America and India? (8) Why did Great Britain profit more than other countries by the war? (9) Where should the chief blame be placed for the partition of Poland? (10) To what qualities in George III. were due the injuries which he inflicted upon Great Britain? (11) Was the participation of France in our Revolutionary War wise or unwise for her? (12) What do you consider the chief fact in the history of the eighteenth century before 1789?

Search topics

(13) The Mississippi Bubble. (14) The change of alliances in 1756. (15) Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War. (16) The war between France and Great Britain at sea. (17) Loss of the French possessions in America. (18) The French in India.

(19) Robert Clive and the beginning of British rule in India. (20) Character and services of William Pitt the elder. (21) Treaty of Paris, 1763. (22) Sweden in the eighteenth century. (23) Reasons for the decline of Turkey. (24) Partitions of Poland. (25) Relations of George III. to Parliament. (26) Attitude of France toward the American War of Independence. (27) Domestic policy of Frederick the Great. (28) Reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. (29) Goethe. (30) Schiller. (31) Court life of France under Louis XV. (32) Addison. (33) Lord Chesterfield. (34) Goldsmith. (35) Samuel Johnson.

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EUROPE IN 1789
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Prussian Territories.
Austrian Hapsburg Territories.
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire.
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
London
Camperdown
English Channel
Boulogne
Amiens
Rouen
Sedan
Brest
Versailles
Paris
Valmy
Varennes
Fontainebleau
Lunéville
Nantes
Loire R.
Brienne
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
VENDEE
BAY OF BISCAY
Rochefort
Bordeaux
GIRONDE
Rhone R.
Lyons
Basel
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Milan
Turin
PARMA
Genoa
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Leghorn
ELBA
CORSICA (Fr.)
SARDINIA
Pyrenees
Vittoria
Ebro R.
Douro R.
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
Barcelona
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
C. St. Vincent
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
KINGDOMS OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
PETTY STATES OF GERMANY
Frankfort
Nuremberg
Ulm
Hanover
Prussia
Austria
Bohemia
Hungary
Switzerland
Lombardy
Piedmont
Savoy
10 Longitude 5 West 0 Longitude 5 East 10

Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
SWEDEN
L. Ladoga
St. Petersburg
G. of Finland
Stockholm
Novgorod
Volga R.
Moscow
Borodino
RUSSIA
Smolensk
Düna R.
BALTIC SEA
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
EAST PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Boundary in 1815
Niemen R.
Berezina
Dnieper R.
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Frankfort-on-the-Oder
Warsaw
Boundary in 1795
Prussian
Austrian
SILESIA
Carpathian Mts.
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Austerlitz
Wagram
AUSTRIA
Pressburg
Vienna
Leoben
HUNGARY
Theiss R.
Danube R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
IONIAN Is.
AEGEAN SEA
CYPRUS
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
15
20
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from Greenwich
L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO, N.Y.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1795)

407. Character of the movement

The eighteenth century closed with a popular upheaval which overturned the existing political system of Europe, again raised France from a position of weakness to Continental rule, and spread abroad ideas which have shaped all subsequent history. The English Revolution of 1688, and the American Revolution of 1775, both brought to logical completion institutions of long and steady growth; the French Revolution, on the other hand, broke sharply with the past, and changed the direction of national development.

In the greater part of Germany, in Poland, and in Russia, absolute serfdom prevailed, and the peasant was little better off than the negro slave in America; but in France serfdom was nearly extinct, and the peasants owned their lands, subject only to slight seignorial dues. Says a recent historian: "It was because the French peasant was more independent, more wealthy, and better educated than the German serf that he resented the political and social privileges of his landlord and the payment of rent, more than the serf objected to his bondage. It was because France possessed an enlightened middle class that the peasants and workmen found leaders. It was because Frenchmen had been in the possession of a great measure of personal freedom that they were ready to strike a blow for political liberty, and eventually promulgated the idea of social equality."

Stephens, Revolutionary Europe, 8

There were in France, however, grievances of a real and

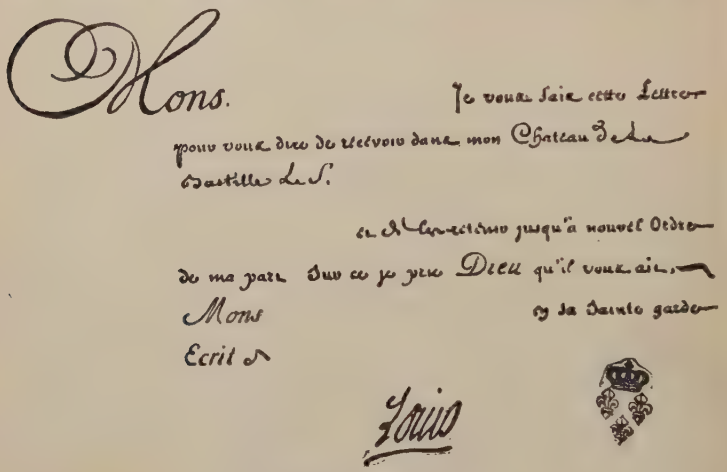
serious character. Society and government were founded upon a system of caste, in which the clergy, nobles, and commons were widely separated in privileges and burdens. The first two Estates (§ 185), constituting the "privileged orders," numbered less than two per cent in a population of about twenty-five millions. The higher nobles, who resided at the king's court, differed in manner of life and interests from the lesser ones, who resided on their estates; in like manner the nobly born higher clergy had little in common with the hard-working and underpaid parish priests (*curés*), who sprang from the people. Class inequalities were increasing; by 1789 four generations of noble descent were necessary to secure a commission in the army, and to enter the charmed circle of the court it was necessary to prove nobility on the father's side back to 1400. The offices of the church — bishoprics, abbacies, priories — were regarded as a provision for the younger sons of noble families. In taxation the privileged orders had many exemptions. Pride of class led the nobles to refrain from all labor; and extravagance, gambling, and decline of their estates made them greedy seekers after pensions and corrupt gains.

408. The old régime

der Louis XV. and his successor Louis XVI. (1774–1792), government was more oppressive and less efficient than ly: abroad, French prestige was seriously im-; at home, vexations increased. Letters passing gh the post were systematically opened, and each g Louis XV. enjoyed the choice bits of scandal and secrets surprised in this way. In England the censorship of the press came to an end in 1695; but France, in 1789, ovided one hundred and sixty-eight censors to pass ublications. Instead of a single code of law for the ountry, there were in force nearly three hundred differ- of local "customs." Diversity and confusion existed field of government. Torture, mutilations, and an

409. Misgovernment of France

absence of safeguards to personal liberty (such as England possessed in trial by jury and the writ of *habeas corpus*) characterized the administration of justice. Under Louis XV. one hundred and fifty thousand *lettres de cachet* (§ 330) are



LETTRE DE CACHET.

"Mr. ——. I send you this letter to tell you to receive in my chateau of the Bastille Mr. —— and to hold him till further orders from me. And I pray God to have you, Mr. ——, in his holy keeping. Written at ——.

LOUIS."

calculated to have been issued, many being sold for money. Tolls and customs duties on goods passing from province to province harassed internal commerce: a vessel descending the Saône and Rhone rivers had to stop and pay charges thirty times, the whole amounting to from twenty-five to thirty per cent of the value of the cargo. The various trades and industries were hampered by oppressive guild regulations, enforced by governmental authority. "Each week for a number of years," said an inspector of manufactures, "I have seen burned at Rouen eighty to one hundred pieces of goods because some regulation concerning the weaving or dyeing had not been observed at every point."

The condition of the peasant, though better than in Germany, Poland, and Russia, was still grievous. The obligation to use the lord's mill and oven for grinding grain and baking bread (§ 143) was hateful because of the delays, fraud, and poor service to which it gave rise. Wild game of all sorts was protected for the lord's hunting, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, and the galleys; and for broken fences and hedges, and crops trampled in the chase, the peasant had no redress. Enormous dovecots were maintained by the nobles, and the damage done to the peasants' crops by the pigeons found a prominent place in the complaints of most country districts.

410. Condition of the peasants

These annoyances, however, were slight compared to the burdens imposed by the state. Innumerable taxes and forced labor on the roads (*corvées*) crushed the peasant. The sale of salt was a government monopoly, and to enforce the salt tax (*gabelle*) every household was obliged to buy each year a fixed quantity, nor could the surplus from this source be used for curing meats or like purposes. The price, too, varied enormously, in some provinces the government charging thirty times what it did in other near-by districts; over seventeen hundred persons were usually in prison, and more than three hundred in the galleys, for offenses against the salt laws. The number and uncertainty of taxes discouraged all efforts at improved methods of cultivation. An Englishman named Arthur Young, who traveled extensively in France in 1787–1789, found agriculture there worse practiced and the agriculturists much worse off than they were in England. The potato, which has done so much to save from famine the peasantry of Europe, was not widely used in France until about 1780. Even where the peasant was best off, he concealed his prosperity for fear of new taxes. "I should be lost," said one such, "if it were suspected that I am not dying of hunger."

While actual conditions were so wretched, ideas and ideals had greatly enlarged. The appeal to reason, which came with the Renaissance in matters of scholarship, was now extended to matters of everyday life, manners, and government; and whatever was found unreasonable was relentlessly attacked. The ends sought by this eighteenth-century philosophy were not metaphysical, but practical — religious toleration, political liberty, economic reform, natural education. In England, John Locke (1632–1704) was its chief representative, and his works greatly influenced Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, who headed the movement in France.

411. New political philosophy

Voltaire (1694–1778) was preëminent in his mocking wit, keen thought, and vigorous style. Sprung from the middle class, he felt the tyranny of the crown and the insolence of the nobles; he "learned to think" during three years' exile in England, and after his return made untiring assaults upon fanaticism, intolerance, injustice, and arbitrary government. In religion, he was a deist; that is, he believed in God and the immortality of the soul, but rejected all revealed religion, putting Christianity on the same plane with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism.

Montesquieu (1689–1755), in a series of *Persian Letters*, showed France how her institutions would appear to an imaginary Asiatic; in his *Spirit of Laws* he applied reason and experience to government, and held up English political liberty and parliamentary government to admiration.

Rousseau (1712–1778) sought to recall mankind from artificiality to nature. In his chief work, the *Social Contract*, he set up the doctrine of popular sovereignty against that of monarchy by divine right, and taught (in words whose influence can be traced in our Declaration of Independence) that governments can have no other just rights than those founded in the consent of the governed.

In the field of economics, similar ideas were stirring. Against the minute regulation of industry and commerce was raised the doctrine of freedom of manufacture and freedom of transit, embodied in the words, "*Laissez faire, laissez passer.*" In every department of thought — religion, morals, government, science — there was new activity. To gather up and popularize the results, the *Encyclopédie*, the first important encyclopedia, was projected by a group of French scholars, chief of whom was Diderot, and completed in thirty-seven volumes (1771). "The *Encyclopédie* was like a general rising, a battle array, of all the men of the new era, against all the powers of the past; it was the great effort of the eighteenth century."

412. New ideas and ideals

Rambaud, Civilisation Française, II. 377

Men of the Third Estate led in these intellectual movements, but the new ideas were taken up by the nobles also; and disgust with the court and ministers rendered a great part of the nobility "almost democrats." Never were the *salons* of fashionable society so animated, politeness so exquisite, or conversation so brilliant as among the frivolous, sensual, and skeptical upper classes of France on the eve of the Revolution! Never was there a generation more enamored of theoretical justice, philanthropy, benevolence; more persuaded of the cruelty and absurdity of war; more enraptured with dreams of universal peace and happiness! As early as 1753 an English observer wrote: "All the symptoms which I have ever met with in history previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France."

Chesterfield, Letters, II. 319

Louis XVI., grandson of Louis XV., who came to the throne in 1774, was amiable and just, but lacked decision of character and ability to rule. His queen, Marie Antoinette, — the young, sprightly, frivolous, imperious daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, — indulged in lavish expenditures and short-sighted intrigues in support of personal favor-

413. Turgot's attempts at reform (1774–1776)

ites. Louis began his reign well by appointing Turgot, an able and enlightened man, as minister of finance. Extravagance and corruption had brought the government to financial ruin; Turgot's motto was, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no loans." His edict establishing free trade in grain was hailed by Voltaire as the beginning of "a new heaven and a new earth." Industry was freed from restrictions, and the *corvée* was abolished. These measures naturally aroused violent opposition from those who profited by the old abuses. The Parlement of Paris made itself the center of resistance, and Marie Antoinette joined the attack. The weak king thereupon dismissed Turgot (1776) and recalled the reform edicts; with this step the last chance to save the old monarchy passed away.

Turgot's successor was Necker, a Swiss banker of mediocre ability, who had little knowledge of the larger needs of France; but he sought to promote honesty and economy in the administration, and he carried out many small reforms. The American war, however, forced up the debt by leaps and bounds. To meet the same grasping opposition that overturned Turgot, Necker appealed to public opinion (now becoming an important force) by publishing an account of the finances, revealing the enormous amount of pensions and gratuities. The outcry produced at court by this act led to the ending of his first ministry (1781).

414. Financial crises (1776–1789)

A rapid increase of financial difficulties followed, until in 1786 the government was unable to pay the interest on outstanding loans. In 1787 an Assembly of Notables (mainly members of the privileged orders) was held; but their selfish interests and the opposition of the Parlement of Paris prevented any effective reforms.

In despair the vacillating king abandoned the principle of absolute monarchy by calling the Estates-General, after a hundred and seventy-five years' neglect, to meet in May, 1789; and at the same time Necker was restored to office. It was

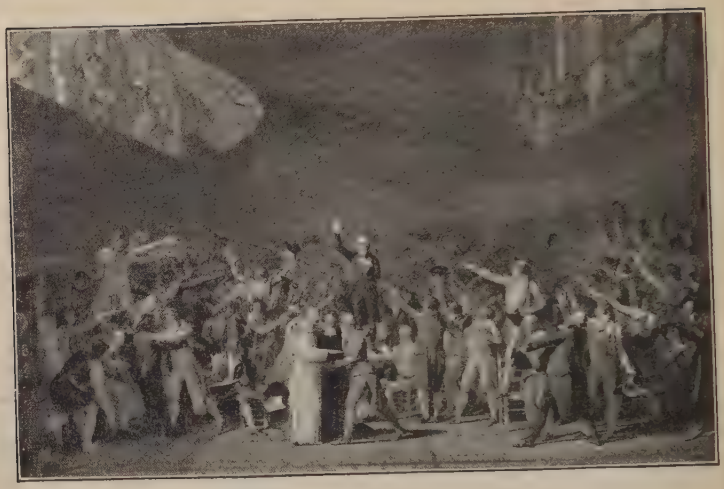
now too late for half-measures. The extravagance and financial incapacity of the last few years, together with a famine in the winter of 1788–1789, gave to the reform movement a character of desperate and savage earnestness. Everything centered in the approaching meeting of the Estates-General. In a famous pamphlet, Sieyès, a political writer, asked: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it hitherto been in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something."

415. Estates-General — National Assembly (1789-1791)

The Estates-General met at Versailles (the royal residence, twelve miles from Paris) on May 5, 1789. The Third Estate had been given double the number of representatives given to each of the other two orders; but it was not decided whether the vote should be (as formerly) by the orders separately, or whether all three Estates should sit in one house and vote as individuals. In order to gain the full benefit of their numbers, the Third Estate demanded the latter arrangement, and refused to proceed with business until the nobles and clergy joined them. They declared themselves a National Assembly, and claimed the right to vote all taxes and to give a new constitution to France. When excluded from their usual place of meeting, they took the famous Oath of the Tennis Court (June 20, 1789), pledging themselves not to separate until "the constitution of the realm was established and fixed upon solid foundations"; by this act, "they practically became rebels, and the French Revolution really commenced."

Stephens, Revolutionary Europe, 54

This resolute stand brought to their side more than half the deputies of the clergy — many of whom were poor country priests and sympathized with the popular cause — and some of the liberal nobles. Next day the king commanded that the vote be taken, as formerly, by orders. Under the leadership of Count Mirabeau, a man of extraordinary ability and courage, but of dissolute life, the Assembly resolved to dis-



OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT.
From the contemporary picture by David.

obey. "Go tell your master," cried Mirabeau, "that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will be removed only at the point of the bayonet." The weak king, who dreaded above all else the outbreak of civil war, gave way, and ordered the other deputies to join the Third Estate (June 27).

The queen and the court party soon persuaded Louis to attempt a policy of coercion through mercenary troops gathered about Paris. This threatening attitude called into action a new force in the Revolution — the Parisian mob. On July 14, 1789, the Bastille (the chief arsenal and royal prison in Paris) was stormed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and brutal bloodshed. The government of the city passed into the hands of a revolutionary committee, and a civic army, the National Guard, was organized under command of Lafayette, the former companion in arms of Washington. In the face of these movements, Louis gave way; he entered Paris, put on the tricolor cockade, emblem of the Revolution, and once more seemed willing to accept the results of the Assembly'

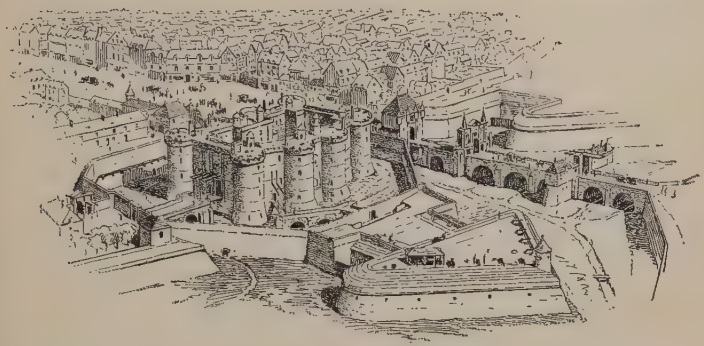
416. Fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789)

labors. Not so the reactionaries of his court, some of whom (the so-called *emigrés* = "emigrants") fled beyond the borders, to stir up foreign intervention.

Up to the attack upon the Bastille there was nothing to show that the Revolution was not to be accomplished in peaceable and orderly fashion, through the agency of the lawful representatives of France. Thenceforth, however, the direct action of the people, especially the Parisian mob, becomes more frequent, until curbed after six years by the rise of a new executive government, capable of wielding the power which dropped from the nerveless hands of the monarchy.

417. Spread of the revolt

In the provinces the news of the revolt of Paris led everywhere to the setting up of revolutionary governments, and to risings of the peasants, who sought to burn the castles and



THE BASTILLE (restored).
Erected 1371–1383, and afterward used as a state prison.
Destroyed July 14, 1789.

destroy the manorial rolls which contained the evidences of their lords' rights. On the night of August 4 some liberal nobles in the National Assembly set the example of renouncing their feudal rights, and the contagion spread until a decree was passed, amid the wildest enthusiasm, declaring in detail that "the National Assembly hereby completely abolishes the feudal system."

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, I. No. 5

In October, 1789, a disorderly mob of women and men marched to Versailles to bring the royal family to Paris, where the action of the court might better be watched and the Assembly be controlled by the National Guard. Aside from this incident, the Revolution proceeded quietly for the next year and a half. Inexperience of self-government led the Assembly to waste valuable time in drawing up a theoretical Declaration of the Rights of Man, while the government, the army, and the navy fell into great disorder.

418. Constitution of 1791

The constitution, when framed in 1791, provided for a legislature of a single house, leaving to the king only a suspensive veto. The old division of the kingdom into provinces was abolished and eighty departments substituted therefor, a step which greatly contributed to the unity of France. A uniform system of law was projected, and sweeping judicial reforms were made. A civil constitution for the clergy was adopted, by which all, from bishops to parish priests, were to be elected by the people. Monasteries were dissolved, and all clergymen who refused to take an oath to support the constitution were dismissed from their offices. Freedom of worship was established for all religions.

To meet the pressing financial needs of the government, the property of the church was confiscated, and the state thenceforth undertook the support of the clergy. The confiscated church estates, crown lands, and estates of *emigrés* were successively ordered sold; and pending sale, *assignats* (a form of legal-tender paper currency) were issued on their credit. The value of the assignats declined until they passed only at four hundred for one in silver, and ultimately they were repudiated.

419. Rise of a republican party (1791)

The chief defect of the new constitution was its fatal jealousy of the executive. Mirabeau, whose wide experience and reading made him the most practical thinker of France, worked for an amendment which would make the constitution more like that of England, and give the ministry some

real power. Failing to secure this, he offered his services to the court in order to check the anarchy into which the country was drifting, and became a secret adviser to the king. His advice, however, was rejected; and in April, 1791, he died, worn out with dissipation, hard work, and disappointment: in his death France was deprived of its most sagacious statesman.

In June, 1791, after secretly drawing up a declaration disavowing the measures of the Assembly, Louis with the royal family fled by night from Paris toward the frontier of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), where a force of *emigrés* and Austrians awaited them. At Varennes, within a few hours' ride of the frontier, his carriage was stopped and turned back to Paris. France realized with a shock that Louis XVI. participated unwillingly in the work of reform, and would use foreign aid to overthrow it. A few weeks later a tumultuous crowd gathered on the Champ de Mars at Paris to sign a petition for his dethronement; and in dispersing them the National Guard under Lafayette fired and killed several persons. These events completed a divergence of opinion which had long been growing; and from this time on the authors of the Revolution were divided into constitutional royalists and democratic republicans.

420. Dissolution of the National Assembly (1791)

In September, 1791, the National Assembly completed its labors, Louis formally accepted the constitution, and the Assembly was dissolved. So far the Revolution was under the control of the upper middle classes; and in spite of some threatening outbreaks of mob violence, liberal men in other countries generally applauded its results. But from three sources the stability of the new constitution was threatened: (1) from the emigrant nobles, who stirred up foreign intervention; (2) from the democratic party, who wished a more radical reform; and (3) from the weakness and indecision of the king.

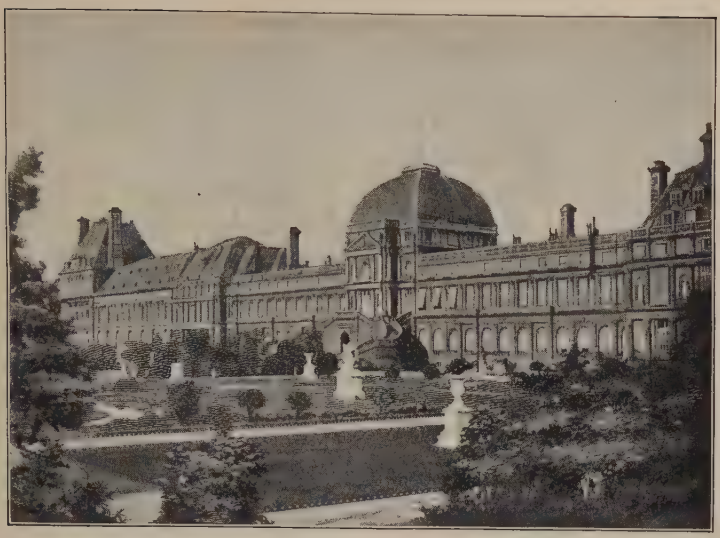
By an unwise provision, members of the old National Assembly were excluded from seats in the new Legislative Assembly, which was thus left without experienced guides and grew more radical than the former. The constitutional royalists at first directed the government; but gradually power passed to a group of theoretical republicans called, from the departments whence came their principal orators, the "Girondists." When foreign danger and internal disorders arose, a still more radical party developed, called the "Mountain" from its elevated seats in the hall. At first its members possessed little influence in the Assembly, but outside in the political clubs of Paris, especially the Jacobin Club (so called from its meeting in the Jacobin Monastery, p. 454), their power was great. Affiliated societies were formed throughout France, and the Jacobins set to work to arouse a public spirit in the land; their views steadily grew more radical, until the name Jacobin became the synonym for democratic excesses and mob violence.

421. Legislative Assembly (1791–1792)

The fact that the queen was related to the Austrian royal family, and the intrigues of the *emigrés*, made foreign intervention certain. Early in 1792 the Assembly declared war upon Austria, and this involved war with Prussia also, which was allied with Austria against the Revolution. The war opened badly for France, because a senseless zeal for liberty had disorganized and weakened the whole administration and destroyed the discipline of the army.

422. War with Austria and Prussia (1792)

After the first reverses, a cry of "Treachery!" was raised, and the Jacobin leaders began to plot the king's overthrow. On August 10 a Parisian mob — aided by some volunteers from Marseilles who raised enthusiasm to a white heat with the new Revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise* — stormed the royal palace of the Tuileries, massacred the Swiss guards of the king, and forced Louis and the royal family to seek refuge in the hall of the Legislative Assembly.



PART OF THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.
As it was before 1871.

The Assembly, acquiescing in the results of this insurrection, decreed the suspension of the king from his office, and ordered him and his family into confinement. Steps were taken at the same time to call a National Convention to decide the question of monarchy or republic for France. The executive government, meanwhile, was intrusted to a provisional ministry, of which Danton, an able and patriotic leader of the people, was the heart and soul; and the greatest energy was displayed in organizing the defense. The continued advance of the Prussians produced a frenzy of rage and fear at Paris, and in September a band of assassins entered the prisons and systematically massacred hundreds of royalists who had been arrested after the king's suspension. A few days later the fruits of the new energy infused into the administration were seen in a French victory won at Valmy (September 20, 1792; map, p. 459). Influenced partly by jealousy

423. Suspension of the king (1792)

of Austria, the Prussians then retreated, and the National Convention was enabled without the menacing presence of a foreign army to deal with the question of the monarchy.

The democratic leaders of the Legislative Assembly controlled the National Convention, and almost its first act was to decree that "royalty is abolished in France," and to proclaim a republic. Violent disputes arose over further proceedings. The Girondists feared the dictation of Parisian mobs, and wished to carry on the government as if in time of peace. On the other hand, the party of the Mountain, chief of whom were Robespierre, Danton, and Marat (later assassinated by Charlotte Corday, who regarded him as responsible for the excesses of the Revolution), saw the need of a strongly centralized government for the national defense; they resigned themselves to the dictation of Paris so long as the crisis lasted, and were ready to employ violent means to keep the royalists in subjection. The majority of the members of the Convention — called the Center, Plain, or Marsh — adhered steadfastly to neither of these groups; but at first the Girondists were in control.

424. National Convention (1792–1795)

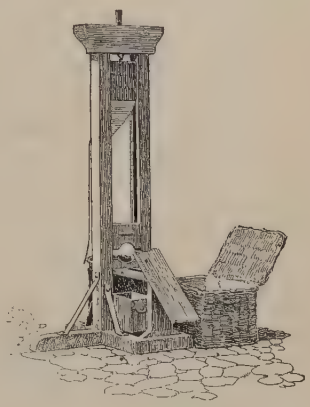
The battle of Valmy was followed by a tide of French successes. Savoy was occupied, the principalities of the middle Rhine were overrun, and the Belgians were assisted in their efforts to expel their Austrian rulers. These successes intoxicated the Convention, and the members believed their armies to be invincible. A decree of November 19, 1792, promised "fraternity and assistance to all peoples who desire their liberty." "All governments are our enemies," cried an orator of the Convention, "all peoples are our friends; we shall be destroyed, or they shall be free." When democratic liberty of the French sort proved unacceptable, it was forced upon the liberated populations, and Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands), Nice, and Savoy were declared annexed to France.

425. Revolutionary propaganda

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, VIII. 243, 244

To complete the destructive work of the Revolution, the Convention ordered that Louis XVI. should be brought to trial on a charge of intriguing with foreign courts for the invasion of France. By an almost unanimous vote the Convention declared "Louis Capet" guilty, and by a small majority passed sentence of death. Some of the Girondists wished to submit the judgment to the vote of the people; but the leaders of the Mountain, taunting their opponents with being concealed royalists, caused the motion to be rejected. The next day Louis XVI. was executed at Paris, by the guillotine, an instrument for beheading, named from a physician, Dr. Guillotin, whose recommendation brought it into use. The king met his fate with courage; but when he sought to address a few words to the crowd, his voice was brutally drowned by the roll of drums.

426. Execution of Louis XVI. (Jan. 21, 1793)



THE GUILLOTINE.

English opinion, even among the Whigs, early showed signs of division over the events in France. Upon the fall of the Bastille Charles James Fox, the most liberal of English leaders, wrote, "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world! and how much the best!" On the other hand, Edmund Burke, one of the greatest of British orators and political philosophers, in a widely read pamphlet (1790) characterized the Revolution as a "strange chaos of levity and ferocity, and of all sorts of crimes jumbled together with all sorts of fallacies"; its probable end, he thought, would be a military despotism under some popular general. The British government was now

427. England and the French Revolution

Burke, Works, III. 244

carried on by William Pitt (a younger son of the Great Commoner), who was prime minister continuously from 1783 to 1801, and again from 1804 until his death in 1806; he agreed with Burke rather than with Fox, but wished sincerely to maintain peace. Peace, however, was impossible in view of the annexation of Belgium, the threatened conquest of Holland (England's ally), and the horror excited by the execution of the king.

The actual declaration of war came in 1793 from France, whose leaders misunderstood British politics, and expected a democratic rising in their aid. Holland, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and many smaller states, at about the same time took up arms against the Republic. Until the final downfall of Napoleon, Great Britain was thenceforth the head of the resistance to France, and the paymaster of the coalitions formed against her: the British fleet kept the seas, and British subsidies enabled Prussia, Austria, and other countries to maintain the war by land. The contest, in one aspect, was the last stage of the war between France and England for colonial and maritime empire; in another it was the struggle of two systems of political liberty — the orderly, conservative, practical system of England, against the revolutionary, tumultuous, theoretical system of Revolutionary France.

428. Fall of the Girondists (1793)

The tide of success which followed the battle of Valmy was of short duration; by March, 1793, invasions of France began from the north, south, and east. The shock of these events rudely awakened the enthusiasts of the Convention. A call for three hundred thousand troops, to be raised if necessary by conscription, led to the famous insurrection of La Vendée in western France — at first directed against conscription, but later turned into a priestly and royalist reaction. In the Convention the quarrels between Girondists and the Mountain grew more bitter, while the populace of Paris, in patriotic frenzy at the military reverses, took the govern-

ment of the city and the command of the civic troops entirely into their own hands.

The crisis came at the beginning of June, 1793, when the Parisian mob and civic troops invaded the hall of the Convention and demanded the arrest of the Girondist leaders. The demand was complied with (June 2), and the Girondists as a political party ceased to exist: their fall was due to the conviction — not unfounded — that they were impractical visionaries, and that their ascendency in the Convention was the chief obstacle to governmental unity and efficiency.

429. Committee of Public Safety (1793)

The Convention, now entirely under the control of the Mountain, drew up the republican constitution of 1793, which was submitted for ratification to the primary assemblies of the people: although approved, it never came into force. Instead, an exceptional executive power was lodged in a secret Committee of Public Safety, with entire control over the laws and resources of France. Robespierre was the Committee's most conspicuous member, because of his reputation for incorruptibility and his popularity in the Convention and in the Jacobin Club; but the real work of the Committee, in organizing and feeding the armies, superintending military operations, and putting down disaffection, was performed by others: of these the most notable was Carnot, who gained the enviable name "Organizer of Victory." From July, 1793, to July, 1794, the Committee of Public Safety ruled France unchecked; in this period fourteen armies were placed in the field, discipline was restored, and France was freed from foreign foes.

Actuated by a desire to break completely with the religious and political past, the Convention at this time decreed the adoption of an entirely new calendar. The date of the establishment of the Republic (September 22, 1792) was taken as the beginning of the new era; twelve months of thirty days each were instituted, with five or six supplementary days at

the end of the year; and the months were divided into three "decades" each, instead of weeks.[1] This calendar was used by France until January 1, 1806.

Through the exertions of the Committee of Public Safety France was freed from foreign invasion, but at what a cost!

430. Reign of Terror (June, 1793, to July, 1794)

The "Terror" was the means used to attain unanimous and energetic action; and the menace of the guillotine was over all who incurred the popular wrath, or whom policy or ambition found in the way. Two laws, passed in September, 1793, constituted the basis of the system. (1) By the Law of the Suspects all persons might be accused who, "by their conduct, by their relations, or by their conversation or writings, have shown themselves partisans of tyranny or federalism [*i.e.* of the Girondists] and enemies of liberty"; for former nobles or royalists and their families the only safety lay in attachment to the Revolution. (2) The Law of the Maximum, in defiance of the precepts of political economy, fixed maximum prices in paper money at which provisions, clothing, firewood, tobacco, etc., might be sold. The possibility of prosecution under this law extended the Terror to the petty tradesmen. To judge persons accused under these acts, as well as those accused of other political offenses, a Revolutionary Tribunal was set up, whose almost invariable sentence was death.

By the practice of sending deputies of the Convention, clothed with absolute power, "on mission" into the various departments and to the armies, the Terror was extended throughout French territory. In some places, as at Nantes, where prisoners were drowned wholesale, the deputies abused

[1] For the old names of the months the following were substituted: *Vendémiaire* (Vintage month), *Brumaire* (Fog month), and *Frimaire* (Frost month) for autumn; *Nivose* (Snow month), *Pluviose* (Rain month), and *Ventose* (Wind month) for winter; *Germinal* (Budding month), *Floréal* (Flower month), and *Prairial* (Meadow month) for spring; and *Messidor* (Harvest Month), *Thermidor* (Heat month), and *Fructidor* (Fruit month) for summer.

their powers; but the end achieved was the suppression of revolt and restoration of internal peace. At Paris the number of executions steadily rose, and it became an established custom to send batches of prisoners to the guillotine each day. At first the average was only three a week, then it rose to thirty-two, then in June and July, 1794, it reached one hundred and ninety-six. Among the early victims were the queen (Marie Antoinette), and twenty-one of the Girondist leaders arrested in June, 1793. It must be noted, however, (1) that outside of the Vendée rural France suffered very little, and even at Paris the vast majority of the population was unaffected; and (2) that the Reign of Terror was in no sense the work of the mob, but was a regular system, with a deliberate purpose and a political aim.

431. Fall of Danton (1794)

From two quarters in the Mountain itself the Committee of Public Safety met with opposition. (1) The extreme radicals of the commune of Paris, under the leadership of Hébert (the editor of a coarse and virulent journal), clamored for more bloodshed, attacked the rich as the enemies of the people, closed the churches, and set up with wild orgies the worship of the goddess Reason. These excesses led Robespierre, who was a deist, to denounce the Hébertists before the Jacobin Club as atheists; and when they attempted an insurrection of the city, they were seized, condemned, and guillotined (March, 1794). (2) Danton, on the other hand, opposed the Committee because he believed the Terror had accomplished its work, had gone too far, and now (thanks to French victories) was no longer needed. Robespierre seized the opportunity thus afforded to strike down his rival in popularity, while the Committee as a whole wished to insure its power by extending the Terror over the Convention itself. Danton and his chief adherents therefore were seized, accused of conspiracy, and after a mockery of a trial hurried to execution (April, 1794).

Freed from competitors for public favor, Robespierre proposed to set up a reign of Virtue, founded upon the teaching of Rousseau, in which he should be the principal figure. To check atheism, the worship of the Supreme Being was established, and in June Robespierre presided at a great festival of the new cult. He was now at the height of his power, but a reaction was preparing. His colleagues

432. Fall of Robespierre (1794)

THE JACOBIN CLUB.
From an old print.

had little sympathy with his ideas, and felt themselves menaced by his ascendency; and on July 27, 1794 (9th Thermidor), his opponents, after a stormy scene, arrested him on the floor of the Convention. He was rescued by the Jacobin Club; but his opponents, now rendered desperate, recaptured him. The next day he and his adherents met the fate they had inflicted upon the Hébertists and the Dantonists. "Not only his enemies but his colleagues threw upon him the

Stephens, Revolutionary Europe, 147

responsibility for all the atrocities included under the name of the Terror"; but the blame as well as the credit for its rule belongs chiefly to men of obscurer name.

With the fall of Robespierre the Terror came to an end, through the influence of new members added to the Committee of Public Safety. The club of the Jacobins was closed, the Law of the Maximum was repealed, and imprisoned deputies were restored to their seats. The four living persons chiefly responsible for the Terror were ordered to be deported to French Guiana (April, 1795). In May occurred a revolt in which the famished Parisian mob broke into the Convention, crying, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793!" Victory over these rioters was followed by new condemnations of Terrorists, and the Mountain as a party was broken up.

433. The Terror ended (1794–1795)

While order was restored at home, the way was paved for peace with foreign foes. The visionary attempt to establish democracies everywhere was definitely given up, and this broke the league of France's enemies. In April and July, 1795, Prussia and Spain made peace with her at Basel, and recognized the Republic. Holland, conquered in 1794–1795, was organized as the Batavian Republic, and brought into close alliance. With Great Britain and Austria alone the war still continued.

434. The Directory formed (1795)

The leaders of the Convention, convinced of the necessity of a permanent executive power possessed of sufficient force and unity to cope with disorder, now prepared the "Constitution of the Year III. (1795)," which intrusted the executive power to a Directory of five members, and provided for a legislature of two houses. The new constitution made constitutional the strengthening of the executive power attained by the Committee of Public Safety, and for the universal suffrage of 1793 it substituted the requirement of a fixed residence and payment of taxes. To guard themselves against proscription and to check royalist intrigues, the Convention decreed that two

thirds of the first members of the legislature must be elected from among their own ranks.

This provision provoked what was practically the last of the revolutionary revolts of Paris — the rising of October 5, 1795 (13th Vendémiaire). The defense of the Convention was placed in the hands of a young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte, who had lately been recalled from a command in Italy. His cannon did terrible execution in the advancing columns of the mob, and taught Paris that the day of riot and revolt was past.

435. Rising of 13th Vendémiaire (1795)

This rising quelled, the Convention proceeded to establish the new legislature, and then quietly disbanded, its last act being an amnesty for political offenses committed since the beginning of the Republic. The new government was entirely in the hands of men of moderate opinions. The Directors chosen had all been members of the Convention and voted for the execution of the king, but only one of them (Carnot) had been a member of the Committee of Public Safety. It remained for the future to show whether the new government would be strong enough to maintain order at home and secure peace abroad; or whether upon the ruins of its policies there should arise a new monarchy based on military power, successful intrigue, and the will of the people.

Within seven years France had experienced almost every form of government. The absolutism of the old régime gave way to a weak constitutional monarchy (1789–1792); this in turn was followed by a Republic in which practically all power was vested in an unwieldy assembly (1792–1793); and this by the executive despotism of the Committee of Public Safety, and the Reign of Terror (1793–1794). Leaders representing all shades of political liberty — Mirabeau, the Girondists, Danton, Robespierre — succeeded one another. The excess of freedom wrought its cure, and France

436. Summary

was now prepared (1795) to try a government which promised strength of executive, with reasonable liberty, fraternity, and equality. The mistakes and atrocities of the Revolution — the mob violence, the Terror, the revolutionary propaganda, the theatrical worships of Reason and the Supreme Being — were in part due to the emotional, volatile temperament of the French; in part also they were due to the lack of opportunity, under the old régime, to acquire experience in managing their own affairs.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) How do you explain the difference in spirit between the French Revolution and the American Revolution? (2) What was the theory on which the privileges of nobles and clergy originally rested (see § 143). (3) Did the facts correspond to this theory in eighteenth-century France? (4) Could a strong king have averted the Revolution? (5) Do you approve of the attack on the Bastille? (6) How might a Girondist defend his policy? (7) How might a Jacobin answer him? (8) Who was to blame for the beginning of the wars of the Revolution with Europe? (9) What was objectionable in the decree of November 19, 1792, offering aid to all peoples who revolted against their rulers? (10) Was the execution of Louis XVI. justifiable? (11) Was Fox or Burke nearer right in his estimate of the French Revolution? (12) Why was the addition of Great Britain to the ranks of the enemies of France of so much importance? (13) What arguments might be used for and against the Reign of Terror? (14) What is your opinion of Robespierre? (15) What was the chief weakness of the executive power under the Constitution of the Year III.? Why? (16) Was the Revolution up to 1795 a success or a failure?

Search topics

(17) Some abuses of the old régime. (18) Voltaire. (19) Rousseau. (20) Diderot. (21) Turgot's attempts at reform. (22) Necker. (23) Marie Antoinette up to 1789. (24) The Estates-General to June 27, 1789. (25) Fall of the Bastille. (26) Influence of Marie Antoinette in the Revolution. (27) Mirabeau. (28) Lafayette's part in the French Revolution. (29) The Jacobin Club. (30) Robespierre. (31) Danton. (32) The September massacres. (33) Flight of Louis XVI. (34) Trial and execution of Louis XVI. (35) Incidents of the Reign of Terror. (36) The Dauphin in prison. (37) Review of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

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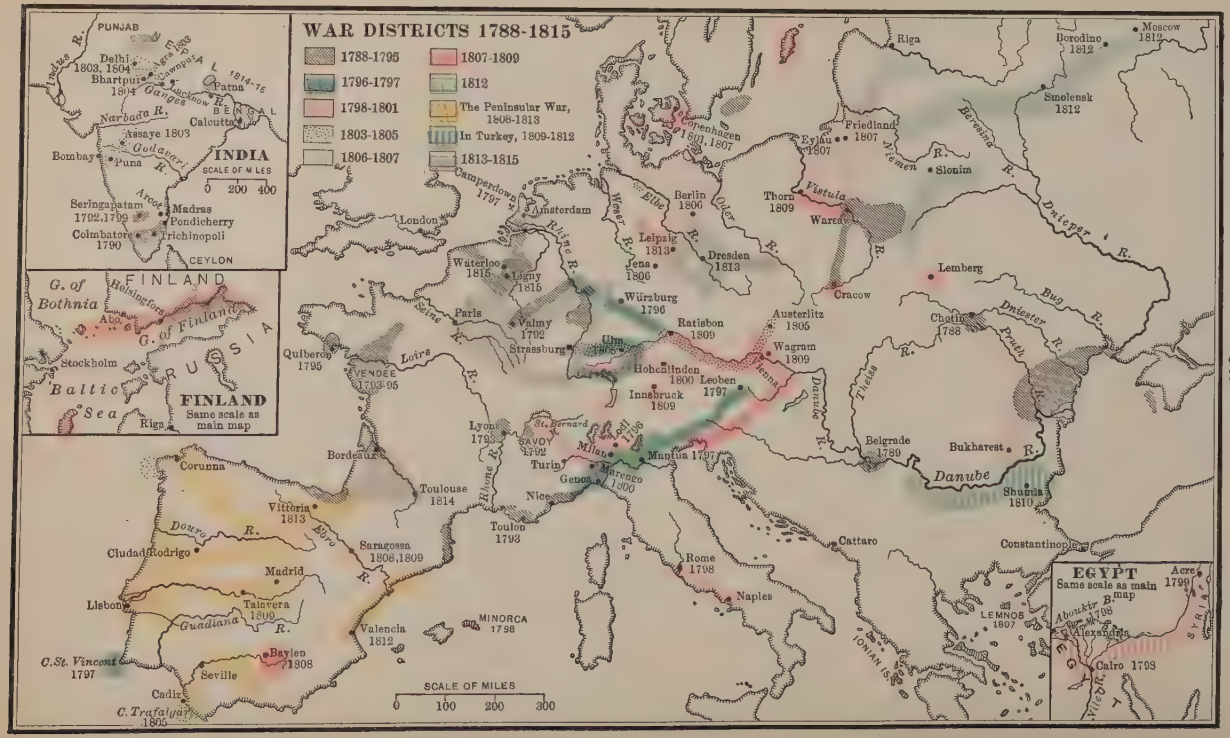
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1812
The Peninsular War, 1808-1813
In Turkey, 1809-1812
1813-1815
INDIA
SCALE OF MILES
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PUNJAB
BENGAL
CEYLON
Delhi 1803, 1804
Bhartpur 1804
Patna
Lucknow
Ganges R.
Jumna R.
Indus R.
Narbada R.
Godavari R.
Calcutta
Assaye 1803
Bombay
Puna
Seringapatam 1792, 1799
Madras
Pondicherry
Coimbatore 1790
Trichinopoli
Arcot
1814-16
FINLAND
G. of Bothnia
Helsingfors
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G. of Finland
RUSSIA
Stockholm
Baltic Sea
Riga
FINLAND
Same scale as main map
London
Amsterdam
Waterloo 1815
Ligny 1815
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Quiberon 1795
VENDEE 1793-95
Strassburg
Ulm 1805
Würzburg 1796
Leipzig 1813
Jena 1806
Berlin 1806
Dresden 1813
Thorn 1809
Warsaw
Copenhagen 1801, 1807
Eylau 1807
Friedland 1807
Riga
Memel R.
Niemen R.
Slonim
Borodino 1812
Moscow 1812
Smolensk 1812
Beresina R.
Dniester R.
Lemberg
Cracow
Austerlitz 1805
Ratisbon 1809
Wagram 1809
Hohenlinden 1800
Leoben 1797
Innsbruck 1809
Tyrol
Danube R.
Chotin 1788
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Bug R.
Pyrenees
Bordeaux
Lyon 1793
St. Bernard
SAVOY 1792
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Mantua 1797
Marengo 1800
Nice
Toulon 1793
Toulouse 1814
Rhone R.
Corunna
Vittoria 1813
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Ciudad Rodrigo
Saragossa 1808, 1809
Madrid
Lisbon
Talavera 1809
Guadiana R.
Valencia 1812
MINORCA 1798
C. St. Vincent 1797
Seville
Baylen 1808
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar 1805
SCALE OF MILES
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Belgrade 1789
Bukharest
Danube
Shurna 1810
Constantinople
Cattaro
Rome 1798
Naples
LEMNOS 1807
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EGYPT
Same scale as main map
Acre 1799
Abukir 1798
Alexandria
Cairo 1798
SYRIA
DESERT

CHAPTER XXV.

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1795–1804)

THE time was approaching when, as Burke prophesied, the government of France was to pass into a military despotism under a popular general — Napoleon Bonaparte. Born of a good Italian family, in Corsica, in 1769 (the year following the annexation of that island to France), Bonaparte embodied "the typical Corsican temperament, moody and exacting, but withal keen, brave, and constant." At the age of nine he was admitted to the government military school of Brienne, in northeastern France; at sixteen (1784) he began his service in the French army as junior lieutenant of artillery. His proud, imperious nature, his poverty, and his alien birth and speech cut him off from his fellows, and directed his early thoughts and ambitions chiefly toward schemes for the independence of Corsica. Only gradually did the French Revolution "blur his insular sentiments."

437. Early life of Bonaparte (1769–1795)

For a time he was much in the company of Jacobins; but the sight of the Parisian mob invading the Tuileries and insulting the royal family in 1791 called forth the significant exclamation, "Why don't they sweep off four or five hundred of that rabble with cannon; the rest would then run away fast enough!" Trained officers were scarce, so in spite of repeated acts of insubordination his promotion was rapid. In 1793 at Toulon he first gave evidence of his energy and genius in directing the artillery. In 1795 he was back in Paris, deprived of his command, without money or friends, and suspected because of his Jacobin connections. His defense of the

438. Bonaparte and the Revolution (1789–1795)

Convention against the mob of October, 1795, proved a turning point in his career. "From the first," says an eye-witness, "his activity was astonishing: he seemed to be everywhere at once; he surprised people by his laconic, clear, and prompt orders; everybody was struck by the vigor of his arrangements, and passed from admiration to confidence, from confidence to enthusiasm." In reward he was appointed by the Directory to his first important command, that of the French army operating against the Austrians and their allies in Italy.

Thiébault, Mémoires

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE IN 1795.
After the drawing by J. Guerin.

Bonaparte was now but twenty-seven years old, below the middle height, excessively thin, and with a sickly pallor. Some of the ablest generals of the Revolutionary army served under him; but all yielded to the indomitable will revealed in his flashing eye, to the brilliancy of his plans, and to the clearness and decision of his orders. The rank and file were thrilled by the burning words of his first proclamation: "Soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honor, but procure you neither glory nor profit. I am about to lead you into the most fertile plains of the world: there you will find great cities and rich provinces; there you will win honor, glory, and riches. Soldiers of the Army of Italy, will you lack courage?"

439. The Italian campaign (1796–1797)

Duruy, Histoire de France, I. 532

The Italian campaign which followed was one of the most brilliant in history, and well illustrates Bonaparte's military

genius. His quickness of mind seized upon every geographical detail which might impede or assist his operations; he was prompt to divine the plans of his enemies, and bewildered them by the rapidity and daring of his well-calculated maneuvers. His favorite device was to meet the detachments of the enemy separately, rapidly concentrating upon each the whole of his effective force. In this manner he first separated the troops of the king of Sardinia-Piedmont from the Austrians, defeated the former five times in eleven days, menaced the capital (Turin), and forced the king to sign an armistice which was speedily converted into a treaty of peace. Then, skillfully turning the flank of the Austrian army, he compelled it to fall back, forced the passage of the bridge of Lodi in the face of a galling fire, — an exploit which gained for him from his admiring soldiers his life-long nickname of "the Little Corporal," — and occupied Milan. Four times the Austrian government poured its armies across the Alps to relieve Mantua, but in vain; and in February, 1797, that last fortress fell. The results of the year of fighting were summed up by Bonaparte in a proclamation to the army, here somewhat shortened: —

440. Napoleon's summary of results

Correspondance de Napoléon, II. 372–373

"The capture of Mantua has put an end to a campaign which has given you lasting claims to the gratitude of the Fatherland. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventy combats; you have taken more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field pieces, two thousand heavy cannon, and four pontoon trains. The contributions laid upon the lands you have conquered have fed, maintained, and paid the army during all the campaign; besides which you have sent thirty million francs to the minister of finance for the relief of the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with three hundred masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it has required thirty centuries to produce. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma

have abandoned the coalition of our enemies and sought our friendship. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Of all the enemies who combined to stifle the Republic at its birth, only the Emperor remains before us. There is no hope for peace save in seeking it in the heart of the hereditary estates of the house of Austria."

The invasion of Austria, announced in this proclamation, presented few difficulties. By April, 1797, Bonaparte had advanced to Leoben, eighty miles from Vienna, where preliminaries of peace were signed, which in October were converted into a treaty at Campo Formio. The Emperor ceded Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands), and accepted the Rhine as the eastern frontier of France. In the interval between the preliminaries and the final treaty, Bonaparte found pretexts for the conquest of the once glorious republic of Venice, most of which was given to Austria. A portion of the Venetian territories, together with lands taken from the Pope, were joined to the territories of Milan to form the Cisalpine Republic, with a constitution modeled on that of the Directory in France. Similarly the oligarchic republic of Genoa was replaced by the democratic Ligurian Republic, under French tutelage. The Ionian Islands, formerly Venetian, were retained for France, apparently as a stepping stone to conquests in the East.

441. Peace of Campo Formio with Austria (1797)

In his diplomatic negotiations, as in his military operations, Bonaparte acted as though practically independent; but his services were too important to permit the Directors to take offense. With the people his popularity was increased as much by the treaties which he dictated as by his victories in the field, and upon his return to Paris he was given a triumphal reception such as was accorded to no other French general. Already the way was opening for him to seize political power.

With England — called by one of the Directors the "giant corsair that infests the seas" — the war still continued.

In 1796 a French expedition to Ireland failed because of storms. The next year a combined French and Spanish fleet was defeated and practically destroyed in a battle off Cape St. Vincent (February, 1797); and the Dutch fleet, which put to sea in obedience to orders of the Directors, was crushed in the battle of Camperdown (October, 1797). With the British in complete control of the Channel, an invasion of England and Ireland seemed hopeless.

442. War continued with England

The Great Pyramids near Cairo.

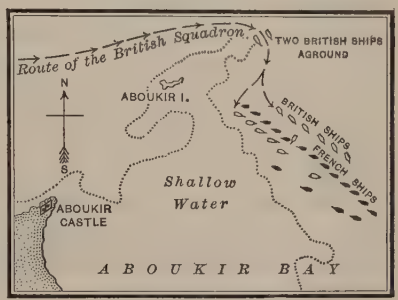
Bonaparte now urged an expedition to Egypt, partly to prepare the way to attack Great Britain's power in India, but quite as much because of dreams of rivaling the conquerors of other days. The Directors, who doubtless were not sorry to be rid for a time of their most ambitious general, gave their consent; and in May, 1798, the expedition set out. It included the picked veterans of the army of Italy, Bonaparte's favorite generals, and a corps of scholars to study the monuments of the East. "The true conquests," said Bonaparte himself at one time, "the only conquests which cost no regrets, are those achieved over ignorance."

443. Expedition to Egypt (1798)

On the way to Egypt the French seized the island of Malta, which had been under the rule of the Knights of St. John (§ 101) since the sixteenth century, and their order was dissolved. Escaping a British squadron cruising in the Mediterranean, Bonaparte landed safely in Egypt, which was nominally a province of the Turkish Empire. Near Cairo the French were forced to fight the "Battle of the Pyramids" (July, 1798), in which French infantry squares, defended by bayonets, muskets, and grapeshot, successfully resisted, with a loss of but forty men, the charges of the Mameluke cavalry. This battle practically completed the conquest of lower Egypt.

444. Failure in Egypt (1798–1799)

A few days later Admiral Nelson, in command of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, at last came upon the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and fought the battle of the Nile (August, 1798). The French, slightly outnumbering the British in guns and men, swung at anchor just outside shoal water; but Nelson, thrusting part of the British fleet between the French and the shore, stationed the remainder on the other side, thus subjecting the leading ships of the French line to a deadly cross fire. The battle lasted far into the night; the French flagship took fire and exploded; nearly all the French ships were captured or burned. Nelson's victory removed a serious menace to the British power in India, cut off the French in Egypt from support and foredoomed the expedition to failure, and deprived France of communication with its best troops and ablest general.



BATTLE OF THE NILE.

Encouraged by Nelson's victory, the sultan of Turkey, as

suzerain of Egypt, prepared a vast army to attack the French. Bonaparte anticipated the attack by marching into Syria, where the Turks were defeated. His schemes of further conquest failed before the stubborn resistance of the city of Acre, and in the end Bonaparte was forced to retire to Egypt.

445. Situation in France (1798–1799)

In July, 1799, Bonaparte received from the British naval commander, under flag of truce, copies of European newspapers that determined him to abandon the army in Egypt, to brave the dangers of capture on the way, and to return secretly, and with but a small following, to France. The government of the Directory was in great difficulty. The radical republicans regarded it as "only a disguised royalty, composed of five tyrants," while a reactionary party hoped for a restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. The Directors did not hesitate illegally to arrest their leading opponents, and to force out colleagues (including Carnot) who disapproved of these proceedings. To arbitrary rule at home the Directory added folly and unscrupulous dealing abroad. At Rome and at Naples republics of the French type were set up; the Swiss Confederation was remodeled in the interests of France; and even the United States, by the insulting demands of the French authorities for money through three agents called X, Y, and Z, was goaded for a brief period into a naval war (1798–1799). Resentment at these acts, and the prestige of Nelson's victory, enabled Great Britain, in 1799, to form the Second Coalition, in which Austria, Russia, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey joined her in arms against the French Republic. By the middle of 1799 Italy was lost, the French had suffered defeats on the Rhine, and France was full of divisions and despair.

446. Return of Bonaparte from Egypt (1799)

Such was the news which brought Bonaparte back to France. Landing on the Mediterranean coast, he found the Republic already saved from invasion by its own exertions. His reception was enthusiastic in the highest degree. Even before the expedition to Egypt, Bonaparte's soar-

ing ambition was aroused. "Do you suppose," he is reported to have said, "that I have gained my victories in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory? Do you think either that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion! A republic of thirty millions of people, with our morals and vices! How could that ever be? It is a chimera with which the French are infatuated, but which will pass away in time like all the others. What they want is glory and the satisfaction of their vanity; as for liberty, of that they have no conception. . . . The nation must have a head, a head which is rendered illustrious by glory."

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, II. No. 2

With these views, Bonaparte, on his return, joined Sieyès, a famous constitution maker, and Talleyrand, a clever but unscrupulous diplomat, in a successful plot to overthrow the government. The people acquiesced in the change, and a new constitution was prepared — that of the Consulate (1799). Bonaparte's resolute ambition over-rode the bureaucratic plans of Sieyès and made the new government an almost unlimited dictatorship. The legislative power was made entirely subordinate; and the executive, nominally confided to a board of three consuls chosen for ten years, really rested in Bonaparte alone, with the title of First Consul. This constitution, when submitted to the people, was accepted by a vote of 3,000,000 against 1500.

447. Consulate formed (1799)

After setting up the new government, Bonaparte's first care was to carry on the war against the Second Coalition. In 1800 he led an army, by the difficult route of the Little St. Bernard pass, over the Alps into Italy, where he crushingly defeated the Austrians at Marengo. In Germany, also, the French were victorious. Accordingly, in February, 1801, the Emperor Francis II. concluded a peace at Lunéville, confirming the cessions made at Campo Formio: the extension of France to the Rhine was again recognized, and her power in Italy restored.

448. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens (1801–1802)

Great Britain was left a second time to continue the war alone. In 1801 the troops which Bonaparte had left in Egypt surrendered. Inasmuch as Jacobin democracy was curbed and France had returned to ordinary political conditions, the British ministry negotiated the treaty of Amiens, concluded in March, 1802, by which all British conquests made since the beginning of the war (with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon) were restored, and Malta, taken from the French in 1800, was to be given back to the Knights of St. John. In these negotiations, George III. gave up the title "King of France," which English sovereigns had borne since the Hundred Years' War.

449. Bonaparte's reconstruction of France

As First Consul, Bonaparte showed that he was a great administrator as well as a great general, mastering the details of business with almost superhuman energy and intelligence. A sound currency was established, the Bank of France created, roads and canals improved, agriculture and industry fostered. His legislation and the return of order did wonders in restoring prosperity to France. Four of his measures deserve particular notice: —

(1) Local government under the Revolution, as under the old régime, was despotically administered from Paris. Bonaparte simplified and strengthened the machinery for this purpose by a system (still in use) of departmental prefects and sub-prefects, appointed by the central authority.

(2) Although personally without religious convictions, Bonaparte saw the advantage of an alliance with the papacy and a reëstablishment of the Catholic Church. A Concordat was accordingly entered into in 1801, by which Bonaparte restored the Catholic religion, though he retained the nomination of bishops and archbishops; and the Pope abandoned all claims to the confiscated church estates, on condition that the clergy should be paid by the state.

(3) All titles of nobility had been swept away in 1790; but

Bonaparte said of the French: "They are what the Gauls were, fierce and fickle. They have one feeling — honor. We must nourish that feeling; they must have distinctions." Hence, in 1802, he formed the Legion of Honor, to be composed of soldiers and civilians who by their arms or by civil distinction greatly served the state.

Cross of the Legion of Honor.

(4) Most important of all were his measures for the reform of the law. The "inextricable labyrinth of laws and customs, mainly Roman and Frankish in origin, hopelessly tangled by feudal customs, provincial privileges, ecclesiastical rights, and the later undergrowth of royal decrees," which formed the law of the old régime, had been swept away by the Revolution; and Bonaparte, with the aid of a committee of learned jurists, completed the construction of a system of rational law to take its place. "In matters of inheritance, in the rules which govern the family relations, and in the law of marriage, the Customs of France find their place. . . . In the law of contract, the law of property, the rules of judicial trial, and all questions of the legal burdens which may be placed upon land, Roman law has had a chief place of influence."

450. Code Napoléon (1804)

Rose, Napoleon, I. 265

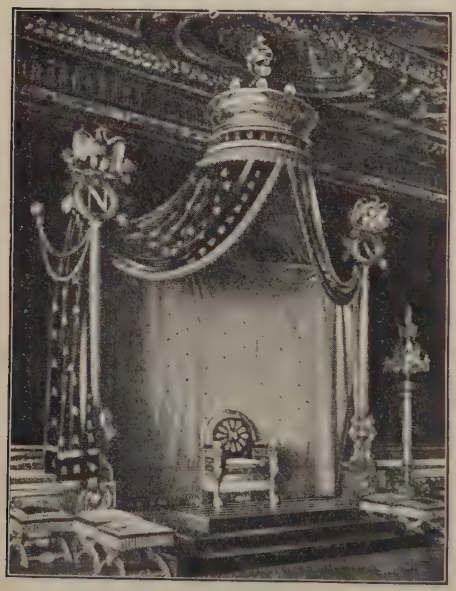
Wilson, The State, 191

Promulgated in 1804, this *Code Napoléon* was soon adopted by Italy and Holland, and exerted great influence in the legislation of Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and the South American states. Nowhere does Bonaparte appear to better advantage than in the part he played in directing and shaping the proceedings of the committee which formed this code. "My true

glory," said he at St. Helena, after his downfall, "is not that I have gained forty battles; Waterloo will efface the memory of those victories. But that which nothing can efface, which will live forever, is my civil code."

Bonaparte skillfully set about making his power permanent and hereditary. A plot against his life, in 1800, gave him the opportunity to crush the extreme republicans, and in 1802 he was made consul for life: thenceforth he signed himself "Napoleon," using his first name only, like other sovereigns. In 1804, when war again broke out with Great Britain, a royalist plot was made the excuse for seizing, on neutral soil, by Napoleon's express orders, a young Bourbon prince, the Duke of Enghien, who was tried by court-martial, without any evidence of guilt, and was shot. This deed, which excited the horror of moderate men, won the remnant of the Jacobins to Napoleon, by making it impossible for him ever to come to terms with the Bourbons.

451. The empire founded (1804)



THRONE OF NAPOLEON
Throne room, Fontainebleau.

With the press gagged, the legislators corrupted, the generals bound to him by grants of honors and rewards, and the people inflamed against England, it was easy to obtain, in 1804, the title

of Emperor of the French, with hereditary succession — a change sanctioned by a popular vote of 3,500,000 to 2500. The coronation was carried out with imposing ceremonies, the Pope giving to it the sanction of religion by anointing the new Emperor with oil. Hitherto the imperial title, which since the fall of Constantinople had been limited to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, had possessed a peculiar significance: "there was and could be but one Emperor; he was always mentioned with a certain reverence; his name called up a host of thoughts and associations which moderns do not comprehend or sympathize with." With Napoleon's assumption of it came a cheapening of the title, until now it has little special signification beyond that of king.

Bryce, Holy Roman Empire (revised ed.), 538

As general under the Directory, Napoleon Bonaparte won a series of brilliant victories in Italy, which forced Austria to make the peace of Campo Formio in 1797. In 1798 he conquered Egypt; but his fleet was destroyed by Nelson in the battle of the Nile, and his land advance into Syria was checked at Acre. The next year he returned almost alone to France, overthrew the inefficient Directory, and made himself head of the state as First Consul (1799). He broke the Second Coalition and forced Austria to sign peace again at Lunéville in 1801; and Great Britain, in 1802, signed a hollow peace at Amiens: thus, for the first time since 1792, France's wars were at an end. At home Bonaparte reformed the local government, restored the Catholic worship as the established religion, founded the Legion of Honor, and issued the *Code Napoléon*. In 1802 his term as First Consul was prolonged for life; and in 1804 he became Emperor of the French.

452. Summary

With amazing rapidity Bonaparte had risen to one of the proudest positions in Europe. It remained to be seen whether this would satisfy him, or whether through rash ambition he would hazard all in an effort to secure universal dominion.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) To what qualities did Bonaparte owe his advancement? (2) To what was due the success of his first Italian campaign? (3) What exactions mentioned in his proclamation of 1797 should we regard as unjustifiable? (4) Was Bonaparte's conduct toward Venice justifiable or not? (5) Why did he set up the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics? (6) Why were the British so successful at sea in the time of the French Revolution? (7) Was Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt wise or unwise? (8) Was the overthrow of the Directors justifiable? (9) Would the same reasons apply to the legislature? (10) Why did Napoleon assume the title of emperor? (11) Show on an outline map the annexations of territory to France made between 1789 and 1802. (12) What qualities made Bonaparte a great ruler in peace? (13) Why were the Consulate and Empire accepted by such large popular majorities?

Search topics

(14) Bonaparte at school. (15) Bonaparte at the bridge of Lodi. (16) Reasons for the expedition to Egypt. (17) Battle of St. Vincent. (18) Battle of the Nile. (19) The overthrow of the Directory. (20) Bonaparte's work as legislator and administrator. (21) Napoleon's friends. (22) Empress Josephine. (23) French discoveries in Egypt.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE (1804–1815)

PEACE with Great Britain lasted less than fourteen months; its rupture was due to Napoleon's growing impatience of opposition and his great ambition. In the time that the peace lasted, he became president of the Italian (formerly Cisalpine) Republic; intervened in Switzerland; annexed Piedmont, Parma, and the isle of Elba to France; projected the partition of Turkey; and took steps looking toward a colonial empire, embracing America (where he had just acquired the province of Louisiana from Spain), Egypt, India, and the new island continent of Australia. "The safety of our East Indian possessions was actually at stake," says a recent English writer, "and yet Europe was asked to believe that the question was whether England would or would not evacuate Malta."

453. Causes of war (1803)

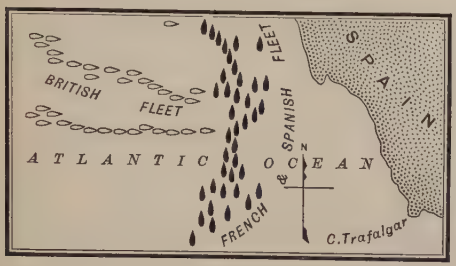
Rose, Napoleon, I. 388

In May, 1803, the British government began war by capturing two French merchant vessels. In angry retaliation Napoleon seized English travelers to the number of twelve thousand, and held them as prisoners of war. On both sides the contest was bitterly waged. The United States gained Louisiana through the renewal of hostilities; for Napoleon, rightly judging that the defense of that province was impossible for France, sold the whole vast territory to the envoys of President Jefferson (April 30, 1803).

454. Renewal of war (1803-1805)

To invade England Napoleon established a naval camp at Boulogne, and made ready to take advantage of any event which should give him even momentary control of the Channel.

But the British power at sea could not be shaken; and the last possibility of invasion disappeared in October, 1805, with the destruction of the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar — Nelson's last and greatest victory, won at the cost of his life.



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

The formation of the Third Coalition, in which Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined Great Britain against France (1805), led Napoleon to break up the camp at Boulogne and march to the upper Danube, where, by rapid and skillful maneuvers, he took Ulm and an Austrian army of thirty thousand men (October, 1805). "Our emperor," said the French, "has found out a new way of making war; he no longer makes it with our arms, but with our legs."

455. The Austerlitz campaign (1805)

The road was now open to Vienna, and for the first time in modern history the Austrian capital fell into the hands of a foreign foe. In the face of a superior force, in the midst of a hostile population, and with his line of communications threatened by the vacillating king of Prussia, Napoleon's position was for a time dangerous; but in the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) the Austrians and Russians were entrapped and completely defeated. In the treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805) Francis II. was for the third time forced to make a humiliating peace.

Against Russia and Great Britain the war continued. Prussia, after the treaty of Basel (1795), had maintained an inglorious but profitable neutrality; but in 1806 her weak king, Frederick William III., was forced to declare war. The Prussian army was far inferior to that of the Seven

456. Conquest of Prussia (1806–1807)

Years' War, and it no longer had a Frederick the Great to command it. In the neighborhood of Jena a double battle was fought (October 14, 1806); the Prussians were crushed, Berlin was speedily taken, and Frederick William was forced to flee northeastward.

Napoleon followed after — amid snow and rain, frosts and thaws, over roads where men sank to their knees, horses to their bodies, and carriages beyond the axles. In February, 1807, the Russians tried to surprise the French in winter quarters, with the result that at Eylau there was fought the bloodiest and most desperate battle of a century. In June the Russians were decisively defeated at Friedland. After this reverse the czar (Alexander I.) decided to make peace.

457. Peace of Tilsit (1807)

The outlines of the treaty were sketched at an interview which took place between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit (July 7, 1807) on a raft moored in the river Niemen, midway between the two armies. Alexander abandoned the British alliance, and by a secret article agreed to join France in war against Great Britain in case that country refused to make peace. More crushing terms were exacted of Prussia: her recent annexations were taken from her, as well as her territories west of the Elbe; and her Polish provinces (§ 399) were formed into a duchy of Warsaw, under Napoleon's ally the king of Saxony.

458. Reconstruction of Europe (1805-1807)

The peace of Tilsit recognized other changes which constituted a reconstruction of Europe. For some time Napoleon had been building up about France a circle of vassal kingdoms in the hands of his relatives and dependents. Thus, in 1805, he exchanged his presidency of the Italian Republic — enlarged by the addition of Venice, taken from Austria — for the title of king of Italy, and conferred the viceroyalty on his stepson Eugene. In 1806 he overturned the Batavian Republic, and established his brother, Louis Bonaparte, as king of Holland. Later in the same year he

drove the Bourbon king of Naples from the peninsula and conferred the crown upon his older brother, Joseph Bonaparte. A new kingdom of Westphalia was formed east of the Rhine, and conferred upon his youngest brother, Jerome (1807). In addition to these kingdoms in his own family, Napoleon raised his dependents, the dukes of Bavaria and Württemberg, to the rank of kings; and in 1806 he formed, chiefly between the Rhine and the Elbe, a Confederation of the Rhine, of which he was the officially recognized protector.

These sweeping changes extinguished the last sparks of vitality in the old German Empire. To meet the new situation, Francis II. proclaimed himself hereditary emperor of Austria in 1804, under the name of Francis I., and then, in 1806, abdicated the throne of the Holy Roman Empire and declared the Empire dissolved.

Great Britain, protected by the sea and her victorious navy, still defied Napoleon. To reach that country, Napoleon established the Continental System, the object of which was to close Europe to England's commerce, and thereby force that "nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously called it, to cry out for peace. The foundation of the Continental System was laid in the famous Berlin decree, issued from the Prussian capital soon after the battle of Jena: though Napoleon had scarcely a war vessel at sea, the whole of the British Isles was declared in a state of blockade; commerce and correspondence with the British was forbidden; and British subjects and British products, when found in lands under French influence, were to be seized. The decree was nominally a retaliation for a British blockade of the Continental coast from Brest to the Elbe; its effect was to call forth from the British yet more stringent measures. These, in turn, were answered by Napoleon's Milan decree of December, 1807, declaring that all neutral vessels which obeyed the British orders were liable to seizure as prizes.

459. The Continental System (1806)

"The imperial soldiers were turned into coastguardsmen to shut out Great Britain from her [the Continental] markets; the British ships became revenue cutters to prohibit the trade of France." Neutral commerce, then chiefly carried on in American vessels, suffered severely from this double system of unjust restrictions.

Mahan, Influence of Sea Power on French Revolution, II. 289

460. Forcible extension of the Continental System

The chief feature of Napoleon's policy now became the extension and maintenance of his Continental System. Prussia was forced to close her ports to Great Britain; and Russia adopted the system along with the French alliance. To prevent the seizure of the neutral Danish fleet by Napoleon, the British bombarded Copenhagen and themselves seized the fleet (September, 1807); whereupon Denmark went over to France. Portugal was ordered by Napoleon, on penalty of war, to close her ports against ships of Great Britain; but the demand was refused, and upon the approach of a French army the royal family fled on board ship, and sailed to the Portuguese province of Brazil (1807).

The next step was the seizure of Spain, where Napoleon, taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and the crown prince, forced both to abdicate, and then transferred his brother Joseph from the Neapolitan to the Spanish throne — Naples being given to his sister's husband, Murat, his most daring cavalry general (1808). Tuscany was annexed to France; and Rome was seized, and Pope Pius VII. imprisoned, because he refused to join the French alliance and exclude English merchandise (1809). Sweden, after being robbed of Finland by Russia, for a time entered the Continental System, and in 1810 the Swedes chose as crown prince and heir to the throne one of Napoleon's greatest marshals, Bernadotte. At one time or another every state of Continental Europe, excepting Turkey, was forced into Napoleon's commercial system.

Even thus Napoleon found it impossible to exclude English goods from the Continent. The French government

itself set the example of violating the system: the coffee, sugar, and tea for the imperial table came from English sources; and when fifty thousand overcoats were ordered for the army in 1807, they could be obtained only from the hated English. Smuggling was widespread, and the commerce of Great Britain actually prospered in this period. The Continental System was foredoomed to failure; and the tenacity with which Napoleon clung to it, and the tyranny with which he enforced it, eventually caused his downfall.

461. Evasion of the Continental System

The rising of Europe against Napoleon's domination began with Spain in 1808, when province after province rose in rebellion against Joseph Bonaparte, and the British government sent troops to take an active part in this Peninsular War (1808–1814). Napoleon in person restored his brother in Madrid; but a new war with Austria (1809) called him away. The French were operating in a hostile country, and their generals in Napoleon's absence failed to support one another. "In war, men are nothing; it is a man who is everything," said Napoleon, in stinging rebuke of their ill success. The British were fortunate in having in command Sir Arthur Wellesley, later created Duke of Wellington, who in spite of a lack of Spanish coöperation was able to maintain himself, and gradually to advance. By 1811 the French were driven from Portugal; in 1812, the south of Spain was recovered; in 1813–1814, the north was freed, the French invaders were driven across the Pyrenees, and the British followed them into France.

462. The Peninsular War, in Spain (1808–1812)

These successes in Spain would have been impossible, save for troubles caused by the Continental System elsewhere. In 1809 Austria took heart from the difficulties in which Napoleon was involved in Spain to declare war again. The contest, however, was brief and decisive: Vienna was again taken, Napoleon won the bloody battle of Wagram (July, 1809), and Austria for the fourth time made peace.

463. New war with Austria (1809)

The fervor of the czar's admiration for Napoleon after the interview at Tilsit gradually cooled. The Continental System weighed heavily upon Russia, which depended mainly upon England for a market; and Napoleon's friendly attitude toward the Poles caused anxiety to Alexander. Personal affronts, also, were not lacking: to secure a son to whom his crown might descend, Napoleon, in December, 1809, divorced his wife Josephine, and requested a bride from the Russian royal family; but before the answer (which was a refusal) was received, he arranged to marry Maria Louisa, the eighteen-year-old daughter of the Austrian emperor.

464. Alexander and Napoleon (1807–1812)

Europe at the Height of Napoleon's Power (1812).

On both sides the irritation grew, until it ended, in 1812, in open war. On the one side was Napoleon, master of France and lord of seven vassal kingdoms and thirty dependent principalities; on the other was the czar Alexander, allied with Sweden and Great Britain. To invade Russia,

465. Invasion of Russia (1812)

Napoleon mustered an army of nearly half a million men, drawn from "twenty nations," the French constituting about one third of the whole. The passage across the river Niemen, with which the invasion began in June, 1812, took three days. The Russians systematically refused battle and retreated, drawing the

NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

French farther and farther into the heart of an inhospitable country, where transportation and supply became increasingly difficult. At Smolensk (about two thirds of the way to Moscow) the Russians made a stand; and after desperate fighting the French were successful, but they were unable to prevent the continuance of the Russian retreat. At Borodino, seventy-five miles from Moscow, the Russians again made a determined stand; and though they were defeated, they were not crushed, and again were able to retreat in good order.

One week later (September 14) the French entered Moscow, with its Kremlin and "forty times forty churches," only to find it practically deserted. The next day fire broke out, probably kindled by the Russians: for three days the flames raged, and were stayed only when nine tenths of the city was in ashes. The situation in which Napoleon found himself was grave in the extreme. To winter in the ruined city was impossible; yet for five weeks he lingered, hoping that Alexander might yet come to terms and the campaign be saved from failure. But it was in vain. "I have learned

to know him now," said the czar; "Napoleon or I; I or Napoleon: we can not reign side by side."

Napoleon at last began his retreat from Moscow, October 19, 1812. A southerly route which he attempted was blocked, and his troops were obliged to retreat by the devastated route of their advance. The Russian general, Kutusoff, wisely refraining from the hazard of a pitched battle, hung upon the rear and flanks of the retreating forces with his Cossacks, and cut off stragglers. Marshal Ney, who covered the retreat, here won his title "the bravest of the brave."

466. Retreat from Moscow (1812)

Zero weather came on, and at every bivouac the morning showed stark and lifeless forms about the scanty campfires. Horses died by hundreds; guns and wagons had to be abandoned; provisions ran short, and discipline was almost destroyed. At a little river, the Beresina, the passage was blocked by a sudden thaw; but heroic French engineers, plunged for hours in the icy waters, constructed at the cost of their own lives rude trestle bridges which saved the army from utter destruction. A few days later Napoleon left the troops and hurried on to Paris. In the middle of December the shattered remnant of the main army, less than 20,000 in number, staggered across the Russian frontier. Of the mighty force that had set out in June, 130,000 were left in Russian prisons, 50,000 had deserted, 250,000 had perished — of cold, hunger, disease, and the casualties of war.

This overwhelming disaster, together with the steady progress of the British in the Peninsular War, encouraged the oppressed states of Germany to rise against Napoleon's tyranny, Prussia taking the lead. Able and patriotic men — Stein, Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, and others — had been laboring to adapt to Prussian needs the social reforms of the French Revolution and Napoleon's military system. Serfdom was abolished, the privileges of the nobility were done away with, and a system of election to municipal offices was

467. Revival of Prussia (1807–1813)

introduced. Universal liability to military service took the place of hired service, so that within a few years a large proportion of the Prussian youth received military training. Prussia, in place of Austria, came to be regarded as the natural head of Germany; and poets like Arndt, and philosophers like Fichte, did valuable service in fanning the flame of German patriotism.

468. Rising of Germany (1813)

The Prussian general York, on his own responsibility, abandoned the French forces and made terms with the now invading Russians (1813). "The army wants war with France," he wrote, "the people want it, and so does the king; but the king has no free will: the army must make his will free." Borne along by the tide of warlike enthusiasm, Frederick William III. declared war, and issued a stirring call to his people, saying: "It is the last decisive fight which we must make for our existence, our independence, our well-being. There is no other issue except to an honorable peace or a glorious downfall."

469. Battle of Leipzig (1813)

Napoleon meanwhile showed astonishing energy in raising and equipping a new army from exhausted France. By the end of April, 1813, he was back in Germany, and Saxony became the battlefield of the two contending forces. In the first half of the campaign of 1813 the French emperor displayed his usual superiority; but Austria joined the allies in August, and the tide turned. At Dresden (August 26–27) Napoleon again won a great victory, but within a fortnight his lieutenants in other parts of the field lost five battles. Amid autumn rains and fogs the struggle shifted to Leipzig, where in a great three days' battle the French — outnumbered, outgeneraled, and outfought — were overwhelmingly defeated (October 16, 18, 19, 1813).

The battle of Leipzig marks the end of French domination in Germany. All central Europe, forgetful of the benefits of French administration, and mindful only of the humiliation of

foreign rule, rose in revolt. With the British and Spaniards about to cross the Pyrenees, and the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians massing their forces for the passage of the Rhine, it was no longer a question of Napoleon's advancing to world empire; thenceforth it was a question of saving the Rhine frontier won by the Revolutionary wars, and even of maintaining Napoleon's hold on France itself.

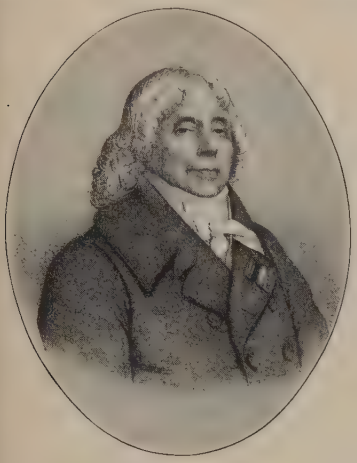
470. Abdication of Napoleon (1814)

Even after the invasion of France had begun, the allies would gladly have signed a peace leaving to Napoleon the throne and the French frontiers of 1792, provided that he renounce all claims to interfere in the affairs of Europe outside those limits. But the spirit of the gambler was strong in Napoleon: he would have all or nothing, and these terms were refused.

In the campaign of 1814 Napoleon in vain displayed his old genius and audacity. Slowly but surely the allies closed in upon Paris. The populace of the capital showed ominous signs of discontent with Napoleon's rule, and partisans of the exiled Bourbons raised their heads. On the last day of March, 1814, the allies entered the city. Napoleon wished still to continue the conflict, but his generals refused to obey. Baffled at every turn, he was forced (on April 11), at Fontainebleau, near Paris, to sign an unconditional abdication, renouncing for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy. He was allowed to retain the imperial title, and was assigned in full sovereignty the little island of Elba, with an annual subsidy of two million francs.

Under the influence of the wily French diplomat Talleyrand, the French Senate (the most important political body under the empire) and the allies were brought to favor the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. The Dauphin Louis, son of Louis XVI., had died in prison in 1795, as the result of shocking ill treatment; so Louis XVI.'s brother was proclaimed king as Louis XVIII. The Pope now

returned to Rome, and the dispossessed Bourbon king of Spain to his capital. To settle further territorial questions, particularly in Germany and Poland, a congress of European powers was summoned, to meet at Vienna, in the late fall of 1814.



TALLEYRAND.
From a painting in Versailles.

For Napoleon to remain quietly in Elba was impossible. Eluding the guard ships placed about the island, he landed in southern France on March 1, 1815, with a force of eleven hundred men. "I shall reach Paris," he predicted, "without firing a shot." Avoiding the Rhone valley, where the royalists were in control, he passed through the mountains of Dauphiné to Lyons. The troops sent against him deserted to his standard; and even Marshal Ney, who left Paris boasting that he would bring his former master back "in an iron cage," declared for Napoleon. The peasants and poorer classes hailed his arrival with joy; but the wealthy townsmen of the capital dreaded a restoration which meant renewed war with Europe. Within three weeks after Napoleon's landing, Louis XVIII. was again an exile, the French emperor was restored to his capital, and there had begun the "Hundred Days" of his second reign.

471. Napoleon's return from Elba (1815)

At Vienna the news of Napoleon's return ended the dissensions among the allies. Declaring him "an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world" and an "outlaw," they prepared their armies to take the field anew. Napoleon found himself far stronger than in 1814, by the return of prisoners of

war and troops formerly on garrison duty in Germany. Following his favorite practice, he resolved to strike before his enemies were ready, and on June 14 crossed the northern frontier.

472. Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815)

In Belgium there was a British army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher. Napoleon's rapid movements practically surprised these veteran commanders, and by defeating Blücher at Ligny, on June 16, he broke their connection and rendered possible, as he hoped, the separate overthrow of Wellington. But Blücher, instead of retreating eastward, turned northward, so as again to come in touch with the British forces.

MOVEMENTS LEADING TO WATERLOO.

Relying on Blücher's assistance, Wellington turned at bay on the ridge of Waterloo, where he was attacked by the French on the morning of June 18. For ten hours the battle raged, Napoleon repeatedly hurling his columns of cavalry against the bayonet-wielding squares of the stubborn British infantry. Never did Wellington better deserve the name of "the Iron Duke" than while anxiously scanning the horizon for signs of the promised Prussian aid. The roads were soft and bad from the torrents of rain that had fallen the day before, and it was not until late in the afternoon that Blücher arrived. The French, attacked on the right flank and in front, were then gradually overborne, and about nine in

the evening their defeat became a rout. Seven times the flying forces of Napoleon halted for the night, but each time they were driven onward. An eyewitness reports that at Waterloo, the next morning, "the whole field, from right to left, was a mass of dead bodies."

Napoleon's defeat was decisive; it was due to his too great confidence, to the decline of his powers from ill health, to the slackness of some of his generals, and to the steadiness and courage with which the British and Prussians performed their allotted tasks. Had Napoleon shown the brilliancy of his earlier generalship, he might have won the battle; but it would only have been to meet his downfall on some other field.

After Waterloo, Paris fell a second time into the hands of the allies. Napoleon, failing to secure their permission to withdraw to America, voluntarily went on board a British man-of-war and was carried to England. Had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians, it is possible that he might have been executed as an outlaw, under the Vienna proclamation. As it was, he was transported to the British isle of St. Helena, in the south Atlantic, where he fretted out the remainder of his life in quarrels with his English jailers, dying of an hereditary disease in 1821.

473. Fate of Napoleon (1815–1821)

Napoleon was a man of titanic force, with a remarkable genius for war and for government; and the opportunity offered to his talents by the chaotic state of Europe, and the upheaval caused by the French Revolution, was unequaled in history. His personal character, as described by Madame de Rémusat, a lady-in-waiting to Empress Josephine, was a mixture of attractive and repulsive traits. He could fascinate men and women when he chose; but his real nature, especially in later life, was marked by monstrous selfishness, cynical unscrupulousness, and blind trust in the infallibility of his powers.

Europe meanwhile was reconstituted by the decrees of the Congress of Vienna. In general, the "legitimate" rulers were

EUROPE IN 1815
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Boundary of the German Confederation.
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
English Channel
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
Stockton
Darlington
Liverpool
Manchester
London
Boulogne
Brussels
Ham
Paris
Seine R.
Strassburg
Tours
Loire R.
FRANCE
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyons
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Pyrenees
Rhone R.
Turin
PIEDMONT
Genoa
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
CORSICA
Douro R.
Ebro R.
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Madrid
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
SPAIN
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
MOROCCO
BARBARY STATES
Tunis
20 15 10 5 0 5
55
50
45
40
35
10 Longitude 5 West 0 Longitude 5 East 10

Gulf of Bothnia
G. of Finland
St. Petersburg
Volga R.
Stockholm
BALTIC SEA
Düna R.
Moscow
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
Vistula R.
REP. OF CRACOW
Dniester R.
Carpathian Mts.
Vienna
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Pruth R.
Sea of Azof
CRIMEA
Sebastopol
BLACK SEA
Save R.
BOSNIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Danube R.
Balkan Mts.
Adrianople
Constantinople
ASIA MINOR
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
PELOPONNESOS
B. of Navarino
CYPRUS
CRETE
Greenwich
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

restored and barriers erected against democratic movements and liberal ideas; the wishes of the people and national aspirations were ignored. Prussia gave up some of her Polish provinces to Russia, but was compensated by gains elsewhere in Germany. Austria was glad to give up her former possessions in the Netherlands in return for compensations in northern Italy. Catholic Belgium was joined in unstable union with Protestant Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands. Norway was torn from Denmark, with which it had been united for centuries, and joined to Sweden, to compensate that state for the loss of Finland, which was retained by Russia. Great Britain kept the Cape of Good Hope, and Malta, Ceylon, Trinidad, and other islands won in the course of the long war; but she restored more than she kept. Murat was at first allowed to remain on the throne of Naples, but after the Hundred Days he was expelled, and the Bourbon line restored; when Murat returned to Naples, he was seized and shot (October, 1815). The petty states of Germany, which formerly numbered over three hundred, had been reduced by Napoleon to less than forty; and they were now joined with Austria and Prussia in a loose Confederation to take the place of the old Holy Roman Empire.

474. Treaties of Vienna (1815)

France, which fared wonderfully well, under the skillful management of Talleyrand, in the first arrangements for peace, was punished for its adhesion to Napoleon during the Hundred Days. In the treaty of Paris, concluded in November, 1815, Louis XVIII. was obliged to accept the frontiers as they had been in 1790, pay a war indemnity of seven hundred million francs, and return the priceless works of art of which Napoleon had despoiled conquered states. With France thus weakened, and the principles of legitimate monarchy reëstablished throughout Europe, the allied sovereigns thought themselves free to return to the policies of the eighteenth century, secure against any renewal of popular revolts.

For Great Britain the struggle with Revolutionary France and the Napoleonic empire was "a mortal struggle, the most dangerous, the most doubtful, the most costly she had ever waged." It was entered upon with reluctance, but when it was once begun the English were the soul of every coalition. "England has saved herself by her exertions," said the British prime minister Pitt, at one time, "and

475. Cost of the war to Great Britain

BANK OF ENGLAND IN 1798. (From an old print.)

will save Europe by her example." She contributed much more than an example: her command of the sea, firmly fixed by Nelson's victory in the battle of Trafalgar, was the chief menace to all French plans of conquest; and her financial subsidies, freely given to France's Continental enemies, gave the indispensable means for carrying on the war.

Her triumph, however, was dearly bought, for her total expenditure was soon treble what it had been in time of peace. By 1797 the drain of gold from the country forced the Bank of England to cease redeeming its notes in specie, and specie

payments were not resumed until 1821. The public debt increased by leaps and bounds: at the beginning of the French war, in 1793, it was £239,000,000; at the close of the war, in 1815, it had reached the enormous total of £861,000,000, with annual payments for interest amounting to £25,000,000. The amount of this debt has since been decreased, but at the beginning of the Boer War, in 1898, it was still £634,000,000.

The costs of war and the depreciation of paper currency raised prices until wheat sold, in 1801, at about $4.00 a bushel. Wages on the contrary rose but little; and there followed a great increase of pauperism among the people — a result partly due to a bad system of poor relief. A change was also wrought by the war in British politics: for a generation after 1792 the Whig party was discredited because of the sympathy of some of its leaders for the French Revolution, and the Tories, who opposed every reform as likely to lead to revolution, were firmly seated in power.

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476. Summary

The Revolution in France embroiled the Republic in war; war led to the rise of a military dictatorship; and the genius and good fortune of Napoleon converted this dictatorship into an empire covering half of Europe. To maintain and extend his power, he renewed the war with Great Britain (1803); he inaugurated the Continental System; he seated his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne; and he undertook the invasion of Russia (1812). These policies brought him for the first time into conflict with an aroused national spirit in Spain, Russia, and Germany; and he fell before the combined attack of peoples and princes, joined to the relentless opposition of Great Britain. Had Napoleon been content with the position he had attained by the treaty of Amiens, — had he not striven after universal empire, — France under his sway would have been one of the happiest of countries, and his fame that of one of the greatest of rulers. But his efforts were all for self, and

his towering egotism led him on to ruin, while the memory of his victories lingered to curse his country with dreams of idle glory. The noblest part of his genius is commemorated in the solid, substantial part of his work, which still lives — in his reorganization of France, in his manifold works of peace, in the *Code Napoléon*, in his maintenance of the principle of equality of all before the law.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Great Britain or France chiefly responsible for the renewal of war? (2) Make a list of Napoleon's vassal kingdoms and dependencies in 1812. (3) How might Napoleon expect his Continental System to bring England to terms? (4) Why were his expectations disappointed? (5) What part did the Peninsular War play in the downfall of Napoleon? (6) How did his invasion of Russia contribute to his fall? (7) Why was the military success of Prussia greater in 1813–1814 than in 1806–1807? (8) Were the terms granted to Napoleon in 1814 unduly harsh? (9) Was the Congress of Vienna justified in proclaiming him an outlaw upon his return from Elba? (10) What enabled Napoleon so easily to recover possession of France? (11) Why could not the allies treat his dethronement of Louis XVIII. as a matter which concerned France alone? (12) Which was the greater general, Napoleon or Wellington? (13) Were the British justified in keeping Napoleon prisoner at St. Helena? (14) Set down in one column the acts for which Napoleon deserves praise, and in another those for which he deserves censure. (15) Was Great Britain's victory over Napoleon worth to her what it cost?

Search topics

(16) Incidents of the rupture of the peace of Amiens. (17) Napoleon's colonial projects. (18) Battle of Trafalgar. (19) Battles of Jena, Eylau, and Friedland. (20) Negotiation of the peace of Tilsit. (21) The Confederation of the Rhine. (22) Bernadotte. (23) Murat. (24) Ney. (25) The military career of the Duke of Wellington. (26) Incidents of Napoleon's invasion of Russia. (27) Rebirth of Prussia, 1807–1813. (28) Battle of Leipzig. (29) Napoleon at Elba. (30) The return of Napoleon. (31) The Waterloo campaign. (32) Napoleon at St. Helena. (33) Napoleon's private life and character. (34) Conflicts in the Congress of Vienna. (35) Social life at Vienna during the Congress. (36) Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL REACTION, AND REVOLUTION (1815–1830)

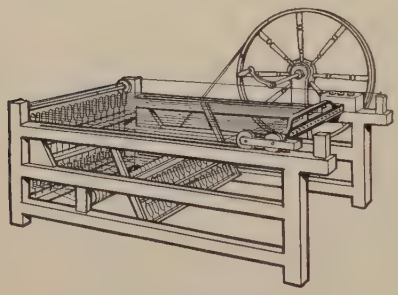
THE Vienna treaties kept peace between the five Great Powers (Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia) for almost exactly forty years, and the peoples of Europe in this period increased rapidly in numbers, in wealth, and in political importance. Other important factors in their development were: (1) the use, in manufacture, of improved machinery, driven by water or steam power; (2) improvements in land transportation, especially the introduction of steam railways; (3) improvements in water transportation, particularly the invention of the steamboat; and (4) improvements in postal facilities, and the growth of the press.

477. Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century

The improvements in manufacturing processes began in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and have fitly been called the Industrial Revolution. For Great Britain the changes marked the beginning of an industrial and financial supremacy in the world which has lasted down to our own day. On the Continent their introduction took place after 1815. In general, the result of these improvements, together with like changes in agriculture and in transportation, was a transformation of the material conditions of life more rapid and far-reaching than the world had ever before seen. The people were benefited in better food, better clothing, and larger opportunities; but as the immediate effect of the introduction of machinery was often the loss of employment by hand workers, it is not surprising that the classes which ultimately profited most met the new inventions with riots and machine breaking.

478. Textile industries

Of all improvements in manufactures, the most notable were those in spinning and weaving. For thousands of years so little advance had been made that the distaff represented on the monuments of ancient Egypt was still in general use almost to the eighteenth century: the hand spindle was used for drawing out the fibers of wool or cotton into yarn or thread, and the hand loom for weaving this into cloth. The spinning wheel, operated by foot power, which was in common use early in the eighteenth century, marked the first advance over these primitive appliances. James Hargreaves then devised a machine called the "spinning jenny" (patented in 1770), by which sixteen or more threads could be spun at one time; at about the same time Richard Arkwright invented what was known as the "spinning frame"; and a few years later Samuel Crompton combined the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright in a machine which was called the "spinning mule." With this improved machinery it became possible for one person to spin as many as one hundred and fifty threads at a time; and when water or steam power was used, the capacity of a single operator was increased to as many as twelve thousand threads. Improvements were also made in weaving, the most important being the power loom, invented by an English clergyman named Edmund Cartwright, about 1785; but hand-loom weaving was usual until about 1840.



Spinning Jenny.

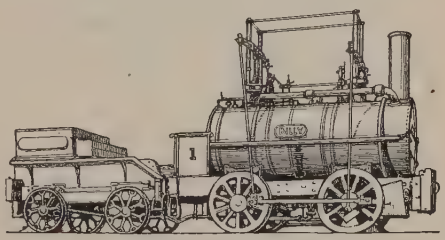
Both spinning and weaving were long carried on as household employments by independent hand workers, who bought the raw material and themselves disposed of the finished

product; this is called the "domestic system" of manufacture. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the "factory system" arose in England, by which many workpeople were brought together under the same roof, to work up raw materials supplied by the owner of the factory, who paid them wages, superintended the manufacture, and received the finished goods. Water power for a time was used to turn machinery; but steam soon became the favorite power. For three quarters of a century rude steam engines had been employed for pumping water out of coal mines; then James Watt began, about 1769, a series of inventions by which the consumption of fuel was lessened, the power increased, and the engine adapted to all sorts of work. Improvements in the smelting of ore, about the same time, gave a larger and cheaper supply of iron to meet the new needs.

479. The factory system

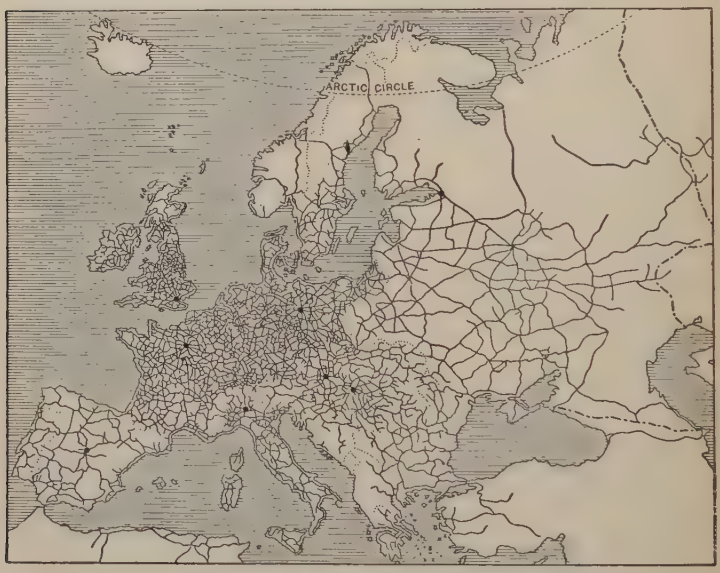
The most important industrial development of the early nineteenth century was the invention of the locomotive engine and the construction of steam railways. Horse "tramways" had been built in England as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century to transport coal short distances to the sea. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Richard Trevithick devised a steam locomotive engine of a rude sort for this work; but the invention of a really practicable "traveling engine" was the work of George Stephenson, the self-taught son of a poor English collier, who in 1814 produced his first locomotive, familiarly called "Puffing Billy." In 1825 a railway for passengers and freight was opened between Stockton and Darlington, for which Stephenson con-

480. Steam railways



Puffing Billy.

structed an engine which drew ninety tons at the rate of ten to twelve miles an hour. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened; for this, Stephenson submitted, in successful competition with three others, an engine called the "Rocket," which attained a speed of thirty-five miles an hour. With this event begins the modern railway era.



Railways of Europe in 1900.

In America, and in certain countries of Continental Europe, railway construction began almost immediately after this. By the middle of the nineteenth century the basis of the existing network of roads had been laid, linking together distant parts of Europe, and leaving few of those centers of barbarism which survived in the Middle Ages in the heart of the most civilized countries. The chief economic result of the railway was a great cheapening in price of bulky commodities, thus permitting a higher standard of comfort for the poor.

The application of steam to navigation preceded the locomotive. Several Englishmen and Americans shared the attempt to solve the problem of steam navigation. The most famous of these was the American, Robert Fulton, who in 1807 launched the *Clermont*, which ran successfully on the Hudson River from New York to Albany. But it was not until 1837 that vessels under steam power began to cross the Atlantic.

481. The steamboat

Improved communication made possible a wider circulation for books, pamphlets, and newspapers; and about 1814 the steam printing press made printing quicker and cheaper. But European governments, by stamp taxes and other restrictions, long attempted (though in vain) to keep newspapers and political publications from reaching the multitude.

482. The press and democracy

As the people increased in numbers and wealth, and political agitation was carried to them by the press, the demand began to be heard that they should be admitted to a share in the government. Everything made for a growth of democracy in the new era; but the rulers of the allied nations of Europe shut their eyes and ears to the signs of the times, and sought to bring their peoples back to the bondage of the eighteenth century. As a result, the history of the quarter of a century following the downfall of the Napoleonic empire is largely made up of a conflict between the forces of progress and those of reaction

Napoleon's overthrow at Waterloo was the work of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, united in a Quadruple Alliance. In November, 1815, these four powers renewed their alliance, with the object of watching over France and enforcing the treaties of Vienna. Its purpose was to give Europe peace; but it developed into a league for putting down liberalism all over the Continent, and for a decade it succeeded in this design. Its chief statesman was Prince Metternich of Austria, a polished but

483. Quadruple Alliance and Holy Alliance (1814–1815)

cynical diplomat, who continued to be a powerful factor in European politics until the middle of the century. The Alliance occupied French territory with foreign troops until 1818, when it was decided, at a congress held at Aix-la-Chapelle, that France was sufficiently recovered from revolutionary ideas, and the garrisons were withdrawn.

METTERNICH.
From the painting by T. Lawrence.

The members of the Quadruple Alliance, excepting Great Britain, were also the chief members of a Holy Alliance, formed in September, 1815, by the mystically religious czar Alexander I. Its object was to establish a compact of Christian brotherhood among European rulers, with which to oppose the revolutionary fraternity of their peoples; it pledged the signers to rule according to the teachings of Christianity and the precepts of justice, charity, and peace, and on all occasions and in all places to "lend each other aid and assistance." Practically all the powers of Europe signed the Holy Alliance except three: Great Britain publicly excused herself for vague constitutional reasons; the Pope denounced it because of its supposed liberal and heretical tendencies; the sultan of Turkey was deliberately excluded because of his religion.

Though the Bourbon monarchy was reëstablished in France, in 1815, the old régime was not restored. France kept the social system of the Revolution and the governing machinery

and code of Napoleon. Louis XVIII. began his reign with a charter setting up a constitutional monarchy of the English type, with a legislative assembly of two houses, a responsible ministry, irremovable judges, freedom of religion and of the press, and personal liberty; even the imperial nobility and the Legion of Honor were preserved. Three questions, however, remained to be solved: What should be the relation between the king and the elected chamber of the Assembly? How should the elections take place, and who should have the vote? How should the liberty of the press be regulated? Controversies over these questions at last brought the Bourbon monarchy to an end.

484. France under Louis XVIII. (1814–1824)

The Hundred Days for a time suspended the charter of Louis XVIII., and the second restoration, following the battle of Waterloo, brought a violent royalist reaction. Marshal Ney, one of the chief "traitors" of the Hundred Days, was condemned by the House of Peers, and shot. In the south of France royalist mobs rose and massacred all who were suspected of Bonapartist sympathies; but the north escaped this "White Terror." An "Ultra" party, "more royalist than the king," wished to overthrow the charter, destroy the religious Concordat of 1801, and restore the confiscated estates to the clergy and nobility; opposed to these were the Liberals, who took as their emblem the tricolor of the Revolution, and began to view Napoleon no longer as a tyrant, but as a patriotic ruler of France, who was pursued by the allies because he loved France too well; between these two extremes were the Constitutional Royalists, who declared that France wanted "the king, but not the king without conditions." The Ultra control of the Assembly was strengthened in 1820 by the reaction following the assassination of the Duke of Berri, nephew and heir of Louis XVIII. The Liberals then gave up working by legal methods, and began secretly to incite revolution; but the monarchy rested

485. French political struggles

secure, with the Ultras in control, until the king's death in 1824.

486. Spread of constitutional principles

The national uprisings which caused the downfall of Napoleon were directed against the rule of a foreign power, not against the liberal ideas of the French Revolution; and when the allied powers ignored national sentiments and insisted upon absolute governments, they came into collision with the very force which had enabled them to triumph over the French Empire. In the ten years following the treaties of Vienna, liberal principles spread all over western Europe, largely through the efforts of secret societies. The chief of these was the Carbonari ("charcoal-burners"), first organized in Italy to expel the French, but later working for the freedom of the land from Austrian rule, and for a united Italy with a constitutional government; the number of members of the society, after 1816, was estimated at sixty thousand.

487. German politics (1815–1830)

Germany was by the treaties of Vienna organized into a loose confederation (Deutscher Bund, or German Confederation) with a federal Diet so weak and dilatory as to be the laughing-stock of Europe. Austria had a traditional leadership in German affairs, but its ascendency was weakened by the growth of Prussia. The German governments were of three types: (1) absolute governments like Austria and Prussia; (2) monarchies tempered by traditional assemblies of estates, such as Hanover, and the majority of North German states; and (3) states like Saxe-Weimar, Baden, and Bavaria (mainly in South Germany), in which the princes granted written constitutions in imitation of that of France, with elected assemblies. The king of Saxony held so high an idea of the royal office that he never went out on foot, or spoke to any one beneath the rank of colonel. The mass of the people were indifferent to political questions; nevertheless small groups of men — enlightened journalists and university professors — conducted an agitation for a liberal and united

Germany, in the press, in university lectures, and in the gymnastic and students' societies which sprang up all over Germany.

In Spain the reaction was blindest, and it was there that revolution first broke out. When the Bourbon Spanish king, Ferdinand VII., was restored to his throne, in 1814, he refused to sanction a constitution, and arbitrarily imprisoned the leading liberals. He also revived the Inquisition, and restored the worst abuses of the old régime. "Nothing I can say," wrote an Englishman from Spain in 1818, "could convey to you an adequate idea of the wretchedness, misery, want of credit, confidence and trade which exist from one end of the country to the other." As a result the army officers conspired and produced the military rebellion of 1820. For a time the movement succeeded, and the king was forced to take an oath to observe a constitution; but he soon fell back on the support of the clerical and absolutist parties, and for two years unhappy Spain was torn by civil war.

488. Insurrection and intervention in Spain (1820–1823)

Walpole, History of England since 1815, III. 7

These troubles, with similar movements in Portugal and Italy, led the allied powers to hold new congresses at Troppau and Laybach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822. At the first of these the principle was laid down that "useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God had rendered responsible for power." Accordingly France was designated to intervene in Spain, and in 1823 a French army restored Ferdinand to absolute power.

The treaties of Vienna left Italy (in Metternich's language) a "geographical expression," marked by the existence of many small states with absolute governments, dependent upon Austria. The example of Spain led to military rebellions in the kingdom of Naples in 1820, and in Sar-

489. Insurrection and intervention in Italy (1820–1821)

dinia-Piedmont in 1821. In Naples a constitution was issued and the king swore to support it; then he repudiated his oath, procured an Austrian army, and put down both the liberal party and the constitution. In Piedmont the insurgents set up the Italian tricolor flag (green, white, and red) and proclaimed as their object the establishment of a kingdom of Italy over the whole nation; but the time was not ripe for this, and the rebellion here also was put down with Austrian aid.

490. Intervention and the Monroe Doctrine (1823)

The Spanish colonies in America, like the home nation, had refused to accept the rule of the Bonapartes, and in 1809 revolts broke out from the Rio Grande to the Plata. When Ferdinand VII. was restored by the allies in 1814, the colonies sought for a continuance of their easy-going government; failing that, they put forth a series of declarations of independence, beginning with that of Buenos Ayres in 1816. The weakness of the government at home made it impossible for Spain to put down the revolts unassisted; and in America, also, the allied powers prepared to intervene in 1823.

Two forces, however, prevented such action: Great Britain was hostile to it, and so was the United States. Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, gave formal warning that France would not be allowed to bring any of Spain's colonies under her dominion; and when invitations were issued for a conference at Paris to consider the question of intervention in the Spanish colonies, he refused to take part, and invited the United States to join Great Britain in a declaration against intervention.

The United States recognized the independence of its South American sister republics as early as 1822. In December, 1823, President Monroe, in his message to Congress, declared that any European interposition in America for the purpose of oppressing or in any manner controlling the destiny of the

new republics could not be viewed "in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." These words constituted one part of the now famous Monroe Doctrine. In the face of the hostility of Great Britain and the United States, intervention in the Spanish colonies had to be given up. "I resolved that if France had Spain," said Canning, "it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence in order to redress the balance of the Old."

The attitude of Great Britain threatened the policy of the European alliance; the alliance got its deathblow as a result of the Greek revolt from Turkish rule, which broke out in 1821. By Greeks and Turks alike the war was waged with great ferocity. The educated classes of England and France strongly favored the Greeks, and many (like the poet Byron, who gave his life for the cause) aided them with money and arms; but Metternich was opposed in principle to rebellion. The czar Nicholas, however, threatened to treat the troubles in Greece as "the domestic concerns of Russia," and to intervene on his own account. To prevent Russian aggrandizement, Great Britain and France joined the czar in an effort to secure for the Greeks the status of a self-governing people paying tribute; but Austria, under the influence of Metternich, encouraged the sultan to resist.

491. Greek war of independence (1821–1829)

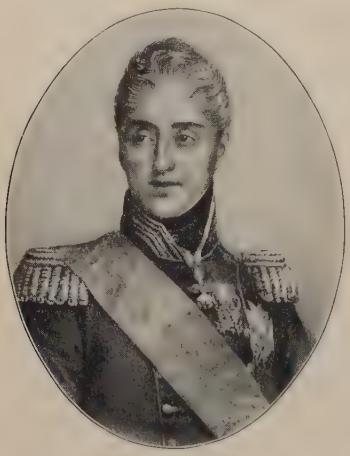
At the Bay of Navarino, in the Peloponnesus, a Turkish and Egyptian fleet was destroyed (in 1827) by the allied French, British, and Russian squadrons; then, in two hard-fought campaigns, a Russian land force, operating in the Danube provinces, forced the sultan to submit. The treaty of Adrianople (1829) recognized the independence of Greece; and in 1832 its government was settled by the choice of Otho I., a prince of the royal house of Bavaria, as its first king.

In France the reaction against liberalism, which began in the reign of Louis XVIII., grew stronger under his brother,

Charles X. (1824–1830). He allowed the Ultra royalists, and the Ultramontane or strongly papal party among the clergy, to have full swing; and the *émigrés* of the Revolution were compensated for the confiscation of their estates by a vote from the Assembly of two hundred million francs.

192. France under Charles X. (1824–1830)

The exasperation of the middle classes against the government led to the election of an opposition majority to the lower chamber in 1827. After some vacillation, the king placed in office men whose choice could only mean a direct attack upon the parliamentary system. At the head of the new ministry was Polignac, a reactionary who long refused to swear obedience to the charter because it granted religious freedom to non-Catholics. "There is no such thing as political experience," wrote Wellington, in view of these events; "with the warning of James II. [of England] before him, Charles X. was setting up a government by priests, through priests, for priests."



CHARLES X.
From a painting in Versailles.

Charles X. relied upon his close alliance with the other absolutist powers, and also on an active foreign policy which should turn his people's minds from domestic politics. An opportunity for action abroad appeared in Algiers in 1830, when the half-piratical dey (ruler of Algeria), in a fit of passion, struck the French consul. A French expedition sent thither met with speedy success: within two months Algiers opened its gates, and the dey gave up his city, his government, and his treasure. In spite of previous pledges to

493. Algeria annexed to France (1830)

the contrary, the French then announced their intention to annex the country, and by 1847 the conquest was completed.

The "glory" which the army was winning in Algeria failed to reconcile the people to the arbitrary course of Charles X., and the Assembly demanded the dismissal of the new ministers. A dissolution of the chamber was followed by gains of the opposition party at the polls. The czar and Metternich then advised Charles to make a virtue of necessity and to adopt a conciliatory course; but the king replied that "concessions were the ruin of Louis XVI."

494. French crisis of 1830

Relying upon a clause in the charter which gave the king power to make "such ordinances as are necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state," the ministry on July 26, 1830, published four ordinances which practically suspended the charter: they suppressed the liberty of the press, dissolved the newly elected chamber, remodeled the electoral law, and ordered a new election. The government had so little expectation of resistance that only fourteen thousand troops were at hand, and that day the king went shooting on one of his estates.

Members of the chamber united with Parisian journalists in declaring the ordinances void, and the leading newspapers disregarded the laws concerning the press. Rioting and street fighting began on July 27, when the police sought to destroy the presses of the offending papers. The nucleus of the resistance was an organization of students and laborers which for some time had secretly nourished republican ideas and hatred of the Bourbon rule. Three things aided the rising: (1) the flintlock muskets of the soldiers were no better than the arms of the rebels; (2) in the narrow, crooked streets which then existed it was easy to erect barricades of paving stones; (3) the soldiers were loath to fire upon the people, because the insurgents hoisted the tricolor flag, which many even of the army regarded as the national colors.

495. Revolution of July, 1830, in France

During July 28 the fighting continued. On the 29th the king sought to retrieve his mistake by withdrawing the hated ordinances; but it was too late. The riot had now become a revolution. Soon the palace of the Tuileries and the city hall were taken by the insurgents; and resistance by royal troops was practically at an end. Charles X. abdicated in favor of his young grandson; and when this act failed to win over the people, he set sail for England — never to return.

A provisional government was set up at Paris, with Lafayette, now an old man, as commander of the National Guard.

496. Louis Philippe enthroned (1830)

The revolution was chiefly the work of the republicans, composed largely of uneducated workmen who had no vote; but the profit of the rising went to the liberal royalists, made up of the *bourgeois*, or well-to-do citizens. For some time their minds had been turning toward Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who was descended in the fifth generation from Louis XIII., from whom the reigning branch of the Bourbons also traced their title. After fighting for the French cause in the early campaigns of the Revolution, he led the life of an exile for twenty-one years in Switzerland, America, and England; but at the Restoration he returned to France, and favored the liberal cause.

Louis Philippe.

In 1829 a party had been secretly formed, largely under the guidance of the veteran intriguer Talleyrand, to push Louis Philippe's claims to the throne; and when the revolution of July drove Charles X. from France, Louis Philippe's adherents

were ready to put him forward as a new William of Orange (following the analogy of the English revolution of 1688), who was to save the nation from despotism on the one side, and from republican anarchy on the other. First proclaimed lieutenant general of the kingdom, he soon accepted the throne itself; and on August 9 was by the chambers proclaimed king — not of France, but "of the French." Thus began the reign of the Citizen King, who, "with ostentatious humility, walked the streets of Paris, clad in the modest frock coat and stove-pipe hat of the ordinary bourgeois, sent his sons to the public schools, or enrolled them as privates in the National Guard."

Phillips, Modern Europe, 1815–1899, p. 178

Every great political movement in France had a reflex in the other states of Continental Europe. The Belgians disliked the union with Holland in the kingdom of the Netherlands: they had three fifths of the population, yet the king, most of the officials, and the official language were Dutch, and the seat of the government was in Holland. The revolution in France gave practical direction to their discontent, and on August 25, 1830, a revolt began against Dutch administration. When Brussels was bombarded by royal troops, the Belgians declared that the blood which was shed dissolved every tie with Holland, and they set up a provisional government of their own.

497. Revolution in Belgium (1830)

Russia was too busy with trouble in Poland to help the Dutch, and Louis Philippe, with British sympathy, actively aided the Belgians. The offer of the crown for the second son of Louis Philippe was declined because of the opposition of the other powers; but in July, 1831, the crown was accepted by a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. The next year the new king of the Belgians was recognized and the neutrality of Belgium guaranteed by the Great Powers. Finally, in 1839, the Dutch king recognized the independence of his former subjects, and the Belgian question was settled.

In several states of Germany the movement started by the revolution in France resulted in slight reforms. In Italy there were risings in Modena, Parma, and in the papal territories, which called for the intervention once more of Austrian troops. In Poland a formidable insurrection broke out. The Polish provinces which Napoleon had torn from Prussia (in 1807) to form the grand duchy of Warsaw had been granted by the treaties of Vienna to the czar as a separate kingdom with a constitutional government. With expectation of aid from France, England, and Austria, the nobles in November, 1830, rebelled and proclaimed Poland's independence. The movement, however, was in the interest of the nobles only, who refused to make concessions which might have won the peasants to their support: the rising was hampered also by weakness, disunion, and treachery on the part of the leaders; and the foreign aid on which they rashly counted was not forthcoming. Though outnumbered three to one, the Poles made a heroic resistance; and it was only after they were defeated in five battles, and Warsaw was bombarded, that the rebellion came to an end (September, 1831). The constitution of Poland was then abolished, and the kingdom absorbed into the Russian Empire; but thereafter an iron rule was needed to keep in check its disaffection.

498. Revolts in Italy and Poland (1830)

The nineteenth century was marked off from the eighteenth by profound differences in material conditions due to the Industrial Revolution, and by differences equally great in political, social, and economic ideas. In both lines the world was transformed in the first third of the new century. Improvements in manufactures and in transportation went on rapidly; at the same time the ideas of the French Revolution were spread abroad — ideas of the sovereignty of the people, of nationality as a basis for common government, of personal and individual liberty. The principles of popular

499. Summary

sovereignty and of nationality were condemned by the provisions of the treaties of Vienna, and the European alliance seemed a means devised for their repression. The first movements for their application, in Spain and in Italy (1820), were foiled by the interference of members of the alliance. Everywhere in Europe — even in England — reactionary ideas prevailed. Then came a gradual triumph of liberal government over absolute government. Great Britain and the United States together prevented intervention to coerce the South American republics (1823). The Greeks, with British, French, and Russian aid, established their national independence (1821–1829). The French revolution of 1830, which followed next, was based on the rejected principle of the sovereignty of the people; that of Belgium, on the principles of popular sovereignty and national independence. In Italy the revolutionary movement failed, mainly because the Austrians intervened; in Poland, because of incomplete national union, and the attention which the liberal powers had to give to other affairs. In spite of these failures the revolutions of 1830 broke the strength of absolute government; and further triumphs of personal liberty, of nationality, and of the sovereignty of the people only awaited the larger growth of the people in wealth and intelligence which would follow the progress of science and invention.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What connection was there between the rise of the factory system and the application of water power and steam power to manufactures? (2) What did the working people gain by the substitution of the factory system for the domestic system? (3) What did they lose? (4) How did the locomotive and steamship help on the Industrial Revolution? (5) Did inventors like Cartwright, Watt, and Stephenson, or generals like Napoleon and Wellington do more for the good of mankind? (6) How did the Industrial Revolution aid the growth of political democracy? (7) What reforms of the French Revolution survived the Bourbon restoration? (8) Why did rebellion come first in Spain? (9) Was

the intervention of the allies in Spain and in Italy justifiable? (10) Why did Great Britain oppose intervention in Spanish America? (11) What interest had the United States in the question? (12) What effect did the Greek revolt have on European politics? (13) Compare the French revolution of 1830 with the English revolution of 1688. (14) Why did the Belgian revolution succeed? (15) Why did the Polish revolt fail?

Search topics

(16) Inventions in spinning and weaving. (17) The invention of the steam engine. (18) Invention of the locomotive engine. (19) Spread of railways over Europe. (20) Early European attempts at a steamboat. (21) Czar Alexander I. and the Holy Alliance. (22) Prince Metternich. (23) The Carbonari. (24) Reaction in Germany. (25) Spanish revolt of 1820. (26) Italian revolts of 1820–1821. (27) George Canning and the proposed intervention in Spanish America. (28) Greek revolution. (29) French conquest of Algeria. (30) Causes of the French revolution of 1830.

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See map, pp. 488, 489; Putzger, *Atlas*, maps 28, 29; Poole, *Historical Atlas*, map xiii.; Dow, *Atlas*, xxvii.–xxix.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ORLEANS MONARCHY AND THE UPHEAVAL OF EUROPE (1830–1848)

THE monarchy of Louis Philippe began with a promise that the constitutional charter should thenceforth "be a reality": he accepted the English parliamentary system, including the choice of ministers from among members of Parliament, their responsibility to Parliament, and annual voting of supplies. But only the *pays légal* (large property owners, numbering about two hundred thousand in a population of thirty millions) had the right to vote — a limitation of the representation which proved a source of danger to the "July monarchy."

500. Monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830–1848)

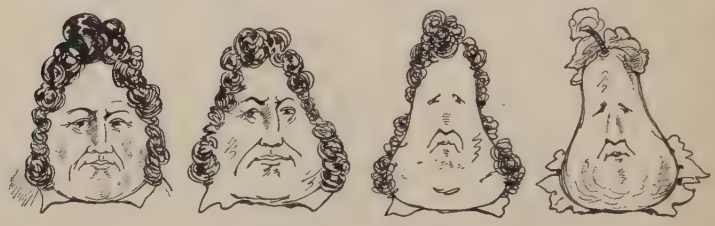
The French government had to meet conspiracies of the Legitimists (supporters of the dethroned Bourbons), who, however, had little popular support.

More serious were the plots of the republicans, who had little money, but had young, resolute, and intrepid leaders, who fraternized with the people. They formed powerful secret societies (modeled on the Carbonari), such as the "Society of the Friends of the People," the "Society of the Seasons," and the "Society of the Rights of Man"; the government in vain prosecuted these societies, for as fast as one was destroyed it was replaced by another.

To the republican demand that France should aid Italy and Poland to gain their liberty, the government wisely refused to listen; but the demand for a broader franchise also was refused. "France has made a revolution," said

501. Republican societies and plots

Guizot, who was one of the ministers; "but she had no intention of placing herself in a permanently revolutionary state." Nevertheless the growth of industry steadily enlarged the real influence of the people, while the press aroused them to a consciousness of their wrongs. The republicans constantly attacked the king with caricatures, one of the most famous of



CARICATURE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

which represented him with a stupid face shaped like a pear; in four years one paper was prosecuted more than a hundred times for political libel.

Disputes between employers and workmen soon began to take on a political color, and strikes against long hours and low pay were transformed into risings against a government which was controlled by the capitalist class. In 1832 and again in 1834 insurrections broke out at Paris and at Lyons. There were six attempts to assassinate the king; in 1835 a Corsican discharged at him an infernal machine which killed or wounded at least sixty persons, though the king himself escaped. These disturbances led to severe repressive laws directed especially against the press; and for a time the republican party was broken up.

502. Bonapartist attempts (1836–1840)

An attack on the monarchy then followed from a third quarter. The son of the great Napoleon and Maria Louisa, called the Duke of Reichstadt, was brought up at his grandfather's court in Vienna; and until his death, in 1832, there was nothing that could be called a Napoleonic

party in France. In 1836 Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon I., and now heir to his cause, made an adventurous attempt to win over the garrison at Strassburg to revolt, but was taken prisoner, and was allowed by Louis Philippe to withdraw to America without trial. Four years later he made a second attempt at Boulogne, with even less success, and was thereupon imprisoned at Ham until 1846, when he made his escape. The efforts of Louis Napoleon excited only ridicule at the time, but later bore fruit. The Napoleonic sentiment was not dead, as was shown by the enthusiasm aroused when the government, in 1840, brought back Emperor Napoleon's remains to France for honorable burial in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris.

After frequent changes of ministry, two statesmen, each eminent for his historical writings, gradually came to dispute the leadership: Guizot upheld a system similar to that maintained by the Tories in Great Britain, under which the king, subject to the limitations of the constitution, should actually rule; Thiers summed up his views in the maxim, "The king reigns, but does not govern." In 1840 Guizot secured an ascendency over his rival which for seven years he preserved unshaken. A steady majority upheld his measures in the legislative chamber, but it was a majority secured (as were those of the British House of Commons before 1832) by grants of offices and other favors to various members. The country prospered, and the monarchy of Louis Philippe seemed secure.

503. Guizot prime minister (1840–1848)

As events proved, this security rested on no solid basis. The nation as a whole chafed at what was called spiritless yielding to England on questions of foreign policy; the Catholic party resented the control of the state over education; the moderate Liberals were angered by the refusal of any electoral reform; the working classes were exasperated by the leaning of the government to the capitalist

504. French revolution of 1848

classes. In this condition of general discontent, a slight conflict between the people and the government sufficed to bring on the revolution of February, 1848.

The trouble began with a government edict against the holding of a reform banquet at Paris on February 22; slight riots of students and workingmen followed, with singing of the *Marseillaise* and plundering of gun shops. The National Guard of Paris, composed chiefly of small shopkeepers, refused to march on the insurgents. The troubles then grew graver; "the first day's outbreak was a riot by the reform party against Guizot; the second was a revolt of the republican parties against the monarchy." Some twenty of the rioters were killed, and the bodies of the slain, including that of a young girl, were paraded through the streets and exhibited to the people with demands for vengeance.

In the face of these events, Louis Philippe could not make up his mind whether to give way or to resist, until it was too late for either. He dismissed Guizot, and then abdicated in favor of his infant grandson — both in vain. Under pressure of the Parisian mob, excited by republican newspapers, a Republic was proclaimed on February 24; a provisional government was established; and a National Assembly elected by universal suffrage was called to draw up a constitution. The revolution was accepted by the provinces without a murmur; and Louis Philippe retired ingloriously to England, where he died two years later.

505. Socialism and the Second French Republic

Thus the republicans profited by a movement started by the liberal monarchists, but they were far from constituting a majority of France or being united among themselves. Socialism was now making progress in France, and divided the republicans into opposing camps. Its principles are the outgrowth, in part, of the new social world produced by the Industrial Revolution and the growth of the factory system; in part they are a development of the

ideas of the French Revolution, with its ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity.

Modern socialism began in Great Britain with the noted manufacturer and philanthropist Robert Owen (1771–1858); and in France it was furthered by the writers St. Simon (1760–1825) and Fourier (1772–1837). With the publication (in 1839) of Louis Blanc's book entitled *The Organization of Labor*, the movement became practical and political. The Socialists protested against the hard life of the working classes, with its excessively long hours of labor, low wages, unhealthful lodgings, and unwholesome food; their remedy was to do away with the capitalist class. They demanded a democratic organization of the state as a preparation for a reorganization of society. The state when thus reformed was to form associations, which Louis Blanc called "social workshops," in which coöperative production was to be carried on by the workmen, the government supplying the capital and directing the enterprises.

After 1848, the Socialists for a brief time were in control; and the provisional government issued a decree reducing the working day to ten hours, and another decree recognizing the obligation of the state to provide work for its citizens, and undertaking to establish "national workshops" in accordance with the socialists' demand. These, however, were really "a travesty of Louis Blanc's proposals, instituted expressly to discredit them": instead of setting the unemployed to work, each at his trade, all were employed with pick and shovel at making fortifications. Thousands of persons who had been thrown out of employment by the revolution flocked to Paris from all directions, and the number employed in the "workshops" increased in two months from 6000 to 100,000. To meet the increased expenditure, new and unpopular taxes were imposed, while the work was cut down to two days a week.

506. Failure of the national workshops

Encyclopædia Britannica, XXII. 209; Ely, French and German Socialism, 112–113

Finally (in June) it was decided to close the "workshops" and send the workmen back to the provinces. The Socialists thereupon erected barricades, and bloody street battles followed; and it was only after four days' fighting that the government under General Cavaignac was victorious. About 11,000 captured insurgents were shot or transported to the colonies, and as an organization the Socialist party came temporarily to an end. The result of these conflicts was a bitter legacy of hatred, existing to the present day, between the working class in France, who lean to socialism, and the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, composed largely of shopkeepers and small capitalists, who are very conservative and bigoted.

507. Louis Napoleon elected president (1848)

On November 4, 1848, the National Assembly proclaimed the new constitution. This provided for a president elected for four years by universal suffrage, and a single legislative chamber. Everything depended on the character of the president; yet the Assembly did not take the simple precaution of declaring ineligible members of the families which had reigned over France. Louis Napoleon sat as a member of the Assembly, and he was the only presidential candidate known to thousands of those who were suddenly given the franchise. When the election was held (December 10, 1848), he received 5,500,000 votes; while Cavaignac, his nearest competitor, received only 1,500,000.

The election of Napoleon as president by so overwhelming a vote excited in sincere republicans fears which his course in office did not allay. "The name of Napoleon," he declared in October, 1849, "is of itself a programme signifying order, authority, religion, and the prosperity of the people at home, with national dignity abroad. This is the policy — inaugurated by my election — which I wish to see triumph." In the tours which the prince president took into the provinces, he was occasionally greeted with the cry, "Long live the *Emperor!*" Meanwhile the Assembly lost popularity by so

Lebon, Modern France, 281

regulating the suffrage in Paris that sixty-four per cent of the former voters were disfranchised.

The decisive struggle between Napoleon and the republican Assembly came on a proposition to revise the constitution so as to make the president eligible for a second term. The requisite three fourths majority of the Assembly could not be obtained for the change, and the friends of the president began to talk of a *coup d'état*. The command of the army at Paris was put in the hands of officers devoted to Napoleon; and on the night preceding December 2, 1851, the leading republican and royalist deputies (members of the Assembly) were arrested in their beds. The people awoke to find decrees posted on the walls, which declared the Assembly dissolved and universal suffrage restored, and called upon the voters to ratify the action of the president. Those who resisted were shot down, transported, or exiled.

508. Napoleon's coup d'état (1851)

By a vote of 7,400,000 to 647,000 the *coup d'état* was ratified by the people. Napoleon formed a new constitution, modeled on that of the Consulate of 1799, which provided for a ten years' term for the president, with practically all power in his hands. Exactly one year after the *coup d'état* the last step was taken, and by a popular vote of 7,800,000 to 253,000, the prince president assumed the title "Napoleon III., Emperor of the French"—the Duke of Reichstadt being reckoned as Napoleon II. Again the wheel of revolution had swung around, and once more a democratic and military despotism ruled over France.

NAPOLEON III.

Elsewhere, also, the year 1848 saw many revolutionary move-

ments, due largely to the advance of the people in material prosperity and to their progress in knowledge.

509. Conditions in Italy (1821–1848)

For ten years after the failure of the risings of 1821 Italy lay crushed at Austria's feet; but in 1831 the revolutionary movement was revived by Giuseppe Mazzini, a Genoese lawyer, long an exile in various lands, who founded a revolutionary association called "Young Italy." In the next fifteen years many books spread the desire for national independence and for liberal institutions, especially among the professional and well-to-do classes. Differences arose, however, both as to the form of government and the sort of union desired — whether a limited monarchy or a democratic republic, whether a union of all Italy under one head or a federation of the existing states against foreign rule.

In 1846 Pius IX., a liberal Pope, ascended the papal throne. Many hoped that the union of Italy would be accomplished under his leadership, and that there would begin a new era for Italy and the world; and these expectations were encouraged by the release of a number of political prisoners, and some slight liberal measures of reform. In the same year Charles Albert, king of Sardinia-Piedmont, took steps of concession to his subjects, and of peaceful resistance to Austria.

510. Revolutions in Italy (1848–1849)

The revolutions of 1848 began, however, in Sicily and Naples, when the liberals rose in arms and forced the king to issue a constitution (January, 1848). Their success aroused the patriots throughout the peninsula: Milan, Venice, and other Austrian possessions in Italy revolted; and Charles Albert of Sardinia-Piedmont, influenced by the Italian journalist and statesman, Cavour, declared war on Austria. Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States sent troops to fight under the Italian tricolor raised by Piedmont; but soon jealousies and differences of opinion arose, and Naples and the Pope withdrew their forces. At Custozza (July 25, 1848; map, p. 534), the Piedmontese army was defeated by the

Austrians. A serious revolt in Hungary (§ 512) seemed to offer a favorable occasion for a renewal of the war; but at Novara (March 23, 1849) the untrained Piedmontese were again defeated.

Charles Albert then abdicated, and his son, Victor Emmanuel, secured peace by paying a heavy war indemnity. The Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venice was speedily restored. In Naples the king overthrew the constitution he had granted, and crushed the revolution. In the Papal States revolutionary violence forced Pius IX. to flee, and in February, 1849, he was declared deprived of all temporal power, and a Roman Republic under Mazzini was set up; but in June a French army, sent by Louis Napoleon, defeated the Roman republicans under Garibaldi, and the absolute power of the Pope was restored. Everywhere in Italy the revolution failed. Sardinia-Piedmont alone preserved a liberal constitution and the tricolor flag — both to become, in later days, the possessions of united Italy.

511. Conditions in the Austrian Empire (1814–1848)

In the Austrian Empire the revolutionary impulse from Paris was combined with (1) resistance of liberals to the iron rule of Metternich, and (2) movements of different peoples of the empire for separate nationality. A glance at the map on page 523 will show how numerous were the peoples — separated by differences of race, language, religion, and culture — whom the accidents of history placed under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The Slavs were a majority of the population, but through the presence of the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Austria they were geographically separated into two branches — the northern Slavs and the southern Slavs — each composed of several national groups. The Germans were the ruling element of the empire, giving to it the capital (Vienna), the royal family, and the official language. Society was still feudal and mediæval: the nobles were free from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; the peasants were still in a state of serfdom. An absolute but inefficient government was kept in power by a

system of press censorship, passports, and government spies. In Hungary, which had a separate administration, an active agitation had begun in 1830 for a liberal political constitution and the official use of the Magyar tongue. The Slavic peoples also had set on foot national and liberal movements —the Bohemians for the revival of the Czech language, and the Croats for a union of the southern Slavs in opposition to the Magyars.

512. Revolutions in the Austrian Empire (1848)

The news of the French revolution of February, 1848, caused a riot of students and citizens at Vienna, with demands for freedom of education, of religion, of speech, and of the press, with representative government. This slight uprising exposed the hollowness of the imperial government, and caused the downfall and flight, after many years' rule, of Prince Metternich (March 14). Hungary, under the lead of Louis Kossuth, a brilliant journalist and orator, now insisted on liberal reforms and a constitution which should make Hungary a sovereign state, independent of the rest of the empire. In Bohemia the Czechs fought the Germans in the streets of Prague. Among the Poles of Galicia, and the Croats and other South Slavs, similar national movements broke out. Everywhere appeared a frenzy of liberalism and local national sentiment.

Yet the revolution in the Austrian Empire failed completely—in large part because of class, religious, and race hatreds among the different groups. The Magyars, while seeking national independence for themselves, tried to stifle such aspirations on the part of the South Slavs; and the Viennese wished to continue German rule over Slavic Bohemia. The result was an alliance between the government and the Slavs, against the Magyars and German democrats, for which the narrow views of Kossuth were partly to blame. In Bohemia the revolution was ended by June, 1848; and October saw Vienna reduced to submission.

Germans
Magyars
Czechs
Slovaks
Poles
Ruthenians
North Slavs
Slovenes
Serbo Croats
South Slavs
Roumanians
Italians
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
GALICIA
RUSSIA
BAVARIA
SAXONY
TYROL
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
TRANSYLVANIA
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
VENETIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Troppau
Cracow
Vienna
Salzburg
Budapest
Trent
Laybach
Trieste
Zara
L. of Constance
Danube R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Inn R.
Bohmerwald
Dinaric Alps
Carpathians
DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Same scale as main map
Longitude East from Greenwich
L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO, N.Y.

Hungary, which had gained a separate army and administration, was not so easily dealt with. To permit of a new régime, the emperor Ferdinand resigned in December, 1848, and his nephew, Francis Joseph, ascended the throne. April 19, 1849, the Hungarians issued a formal declaration of independence from Hapsburg rule, and formed a republican government with Kossuth at its head. For a time they almost completely freed their land of Austrian troops; and the rebellion was ended only by the intervention of the czar of Russia, who in June, 1849, sent an army of two hundred thousand men to aid his Austrian brother ruler. By the middle of August the revolution was crushed: Kossuth and other leaders escaped to Turkey, where the sultan, with British and French support, gave them refuge. Bloody punishments awaited those who fell into Austrian hands, and a rigid repression of all liberal and national aspirations followed. The one lasting reform brought about was the sweeping away of the remains of feudalism in the Austrian Empire.

513. Hungary a republic (1849)

The German revolutionary movements in 1848 were directed not only to liberal and democratic reforms in the separate German states, but also to uniting them in a national union. The Diet of the German Confederation was only a council of the federated princes, under Austrian influence, and in no way represented the sentiments of the German people. Hence movements for reform centered in the universities, for which Germany was famed. Prussia, moreover, and not Austria, was the state to which Germany looked more and more for leadership. The accident that Prussia ruled many scattered territories, with a thousand miles of frontiers, made a *zollverein* (customs tariff union of the German states) a matter of importance for her, and she succeeded before 1854 in including in it the whole of southern and central Germany; this proved a powerful factor in finally bringing about the political union of Germany under Prussian headship.

514. Revolutions in Germany (1848)

GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN (1834–1854).

The news of the February revolution of Paris, and the fall of Metternich in Austria, caused great excitement in Germany. At once risings occurred in the great cities, particularly Munich and Berlin. At Berlin barricades were erected, and street fighting occurred which caused the death of several hundred citizens (March, 1848). The kind-hearted but arbitrary and vacillating king, Frederick William IV., then ordered the soldiers to withdraw from the city; and donning the revolutionary colors (the old imperial black, red, and gold), he summoned an assembly which drew up a conservative Prussian constitution.

515. The Frankfort parliament (1848–1849)

A meeting of liberals from different German states, meanwhile, arranged for a "constituent parliament," chosen by direct popular elections, to draw up a constitution for a united Germany; and in May, 1848, the "parliament," or national assembly, began its sessions in the city of

Frankfort. Its members were chiefly university professors, lawyers, and journalists; and four precious months were wasted in endless debates over the "fundamental rights of the German people." A war with Denmark, waged by Prussia and the parliament to resist an attempt to make Danes out of the German inhabitants of Sleswick-Holstein, was stopped by the intervention of the Great Powers. This check caused the parliament to lose prestige, and in Frankfort a republican rising marked the dissatisfaction of the radicals with the course of events.

The parliament was also distracted because the Austrian government refused to come into the new arrangement without their non-German provinces, which would enable them with their thirty-eight millions of population to overbalance the thirty-two millions of Germany proper: this would have meant an end to all hopes of real German unity. At last the parliament voted for the exclusion of Austria from the proposed German Empire, and offered the crown to Frederick William IV. of Prussia (March, 1849). Acceptance of the offer would have meant war with Austria; Frederick William was willing to accept an imperial crown if offered to him by the united voice of the princes, but he rejected with scorn one "picked up out of the mud."

This refusal wrecked the whole new constitution and caused the breaking up of the Frankfort parliament. The democratic party was put down, and German unity was postponed for twenty years. To escape punishment, many of the radical leaders fled to foreign lands, and the United States thus gained many valuable citizens. Austria, backed by Russia, speedily regained her lost ascendency; and at Olmütz, in 1850, Prussia made a humiliating submission, by which Sleswick-Holstein was delivered to the Danes, and the old Confederation of 1815 was restored, with its Frankfort Diet completely under Austrian influence.

516. End of the revolution in Germany (1849–1850)

The Revolution of 1848 was a widespread movement which affected all the principal countries of western Europe. In France it established for a time the democratic system, with universal suffrage, liberty of the press, and freedom of political action. In Italy, in the Austrian Empire, and in Germany the revolution was partly democratic and partly nationalist. After a temporary triumph in these countries, there came a reaction, supported by the armies, which were still at their masters' service. The restoration began in Austria, where the Slavs aided the imperial government against the Germans and Magyars; it was continued by the king of Prussia, first in his own territories and then elsewhere in Germany; it was completed in Italy by Austrian and French armies, in Hungary by Russian forces.

517. Summary

In France the reaction brought Napoleon III. to the imperial power (1851), and restored a military and absolute government, which, however, preserved in name universal suffrage and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. "The governments having learned a lesson from revolution, organized an alliance of all conservative forces, including the *bourgeoisie* [capitalist class], which was disturbed by the socialist movement, and the Pope, who was alarmed by the Roman Republic. The repressive measures taken against the revolutionary parties and their instruments — the press and public meetings — deprived all the parties of political power, even the parliamentarians. The absolutist system then extended all over Europe, except Switzerland and the countries which had remained outside the Revolution of 1848, — England, Belgium, Holland, and Norway."

Seignobos, Political History of Europe since 1814, p. 841

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Compare the government under Louis Philippe with that under Charles X. (2) Compare Guizot with Polignac. (3) Was the justification for revolution in France in 1848 as great as in

1830? (4) Why did the French provinces play so little part in the Revolution of 1848? (5) What ideas of the French socialists seem to you good? (6) Did France really wish a republic in 1848? (7) Was the *coup d'état* of 1851 justifiable? (8) How do you explain the wide spread of the revolutionary movements in 1848? (9) What special causes were there in Italy? (10) In Austria? (11) In Bohemia? (12) In Hungary? (13) In Germany? (14) Compare the movement in Italy with the revolts there in 1820–1821 and in 1830. (15) To what extent were causes for revolution in the Austrian Empire removed by the revolution? (16) Why should Russia intervene to aid Austria in Hungary? (17) Why did the movement for German unity fail in 1848–1850? (18) What gains did Germany make by the revolution?

Search topics

(19) Character of Louis Philippe. (20) Guizot as a statesman and as an historian. (21) Teachings of St. Simon and Fourier. (22) Life of Louis Napoleon to 1852. (23) Mazzini. (24) Piedmont in the Revolution of 1848. (25) Pius IX. and the revolution. (26) Revolution in Naples. (27) Revolution in Vienna. (28) Kossuth. (29) The revolution in Hungary. (30) Revolution in Prussia. (31) Sleswick-Holstein question. (32) War of the Sonderbund in Switzerland.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

NAPOLEON III. AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY (1851–1871)

SUEZ CANAL.

THE Second Empire in France, which began with the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, lasted for almost nineteen years. The new emperor, Napoleon III., lacked the great Napoleon's genius, and the French author, Victor Hugo, nicknamed him "Napoleon the Little." Failing to secure a bride from any of the princely houses of Europe, Napoleon in 1853 married a beautiful Spaniard of noble but not exalted birth, who as the Empress Eugénie gave a charm to the imperial court, but exercised a harmful influence in politics. The whole administration was honeycombed with corruption, which in the final crisis greatly weakened the empire.

518. Policy of Napoleon III.

The policy of the emperor, as well as the economic tendency of the time, combined to produce great material prosperity. Before 1850 little progress was made in railway building; in the next twenty years nearly ten thousand miles were built in France alone. Manufactures increased rapidly; and foreign commerce grew, largely because of liberal commercial treaties with Great Britain and other countries. The Suez Canal,

completed in 1869 by De Lesseps, a French engineer, revolutionized the commerce of the world. Joint stock companies were formed to use the savings of small investors in carrying on industrial enterprises, and these further increased wealth. The streets of Paris were widened and improved so that broad boulevards, spacious squares, and imposing buildings took the place of wretched houses: thus the city was made more healthful and beautiful, the working classes had employment, and insurrection was made more difficult through the widening of the narrow streets in which barricades had so easily been erected. The industrial progress of the world at large was revealed at the first "universal exhibition," or world's fair, held at London in 1851; similar exhibitions, held at Paris in 1855 and 1867, gave France an opportunity to show her material growth and artistic excellence.

Napoleon III. declared that "the Empire is peace"; but the times and his own policies made his reign a period of European war. After forty years of peace came five important wars: the Crimean War (1854–1856), the Franco-Austrian War in Italy (1859), the war of Austria and Prussia with Denmark (1864), the Austro-Prussian War (1866), and the Franco-German War (1870–1871). In the first, second, and fifth of these France played a leading part; in the other two her interests were vitally concerned.

519. European wars (1854–1871)

The Crimean War arose out of the Eastern Question — that is, the question of the political status and future of the lands included in the Turkish Empire. The czar Nicholas I. (1825–1855) believed that Turkey was "the Sick Man" of Europe, and that arrangements should be made by Great Britain and Russia, the two powers most interested, for the division of the inheritance; but the British saw in this only a scheme of the czar to secure Constantinople, and refused coöperation. Ill feeling arose between Napoleon III. and the czar, because Nicholas addressed the French emperor in letters

520. The Eastern Question (1844–1853)

as "My good friend," instead of "My brother" as was customary between sovereigns. There was also a quarrel concerning the custody of the "holy places" in Jerusalem between the French, as the official protectors of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the Russians, as protectors of the Greek clergy. The dispute over the holy places was adjusted; but a further claim of Russia, to a protectorate over all Greek Christians living under the sultan's rule, could not be admitted by the Great Powers.

In June, 1853, war began between Russia and Turkey on this issue. To gain strength at home the emperor Napoleon (in 1854) took up arms in aid of Turkey; and Great Britain did the same, because a Russian triumph would endanger her interests in Asia. Austria and Prussia remained practically neutral. With the hope of gaining prestige, Sardinia-Piedmont sent her troops (1855) to fight side by side with those of Great Britain and France. Thus Russia found arrayed against her not only the troops of Turkey, which defended the Danube lands, but also the fleets and armies of France, Great Britain, and Sardinia.

The chief seat of the war proved to be the peninsula of the Crimea. There, in the strongly fortified harbor of Sebastopol, where enormous war supplies were stored, the Russian Black Sea fleet took refuge; and to reduce that fortress, France and Great Britain landed a force of sixty thousand men (September, 1854). For nearly a year Sebastopol held out, while cholera, famine, and the winter weather — "Generals January and February" — terribly thinned the besiegers' ranks. For

521. The Crimean War (1854–1856)

THE CRIMEA.

the first time war correspondents kept the people at home informed of events, and profoundly moved the English by describing the sufferings of the army — many of which were charged to administrative mismanagement. Miss Florence Nightingale, an English gentlewoman, gained undying fame by the zeal and devotion she showed in organizing the nursing of the sick and wounded; and her work led to the Geneva Convention of 1864, which provides for the protection of hospitals and ambulances under the red-cross flag in time of war.

In a battle at Balaklava, in the neighborhood of Sebastopol (October 25, 1854), occurred the charge of the Light Brigade, celebrated by Tennyson, in which, owing to a misunderstanding of orders, six hundred and seventy-three men charged the Russian batteries with heroic courage. Czar Nicholas died of chagrin in 1855, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. In September, 1855, after a long bombardment and many bloody engagements, Sebastopol was taken by assault.

Peace was finally agreed to in a congress held at Paris in March, 1856. Turkey was left intact, and the sultan promised certain reforms in the treatment of his Christian subjects — promises which he did not keep. Russia's claim to a protectorate of the Christian populations of Turkey was disallowed. The Danube was declared open to navigation; but the Black Sea was closed to the war vessels of all powers, and Russia agreed not to maintain arsenals on its shores. After peace was signed, the congress drew up four important rules of maritime law, by which privateering was declared abolished, blockades were required to be effective in order to be valid, and greater protection was given to private property on the high seas (other than contraband) in time of war. These rules were accepted by the European states and became part of international law; the United States, remembering the excellent service rendered by privateers in her wars, refused to agree, though in practice this country also has observed them.

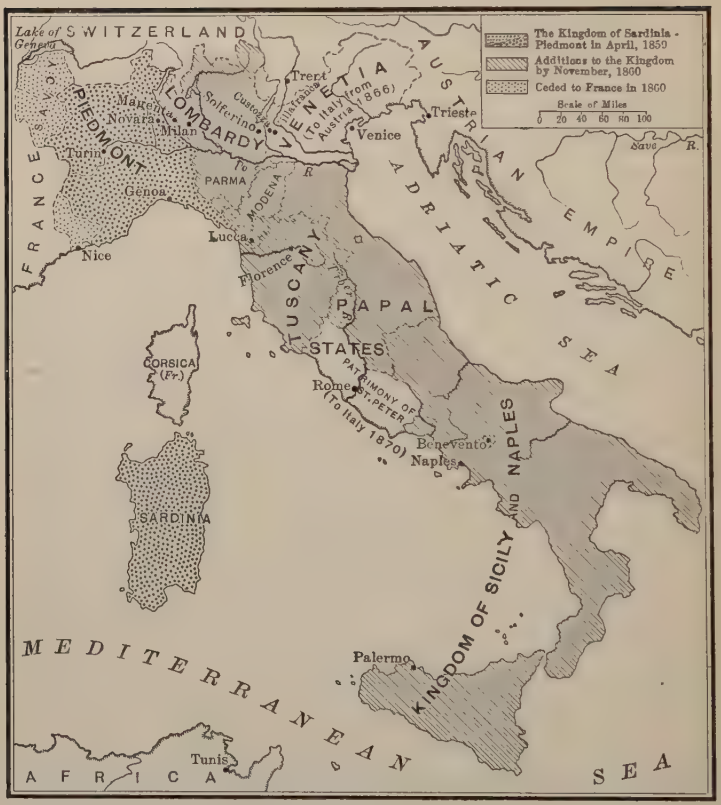
522. Peace of Paris (1856)

Another interruption to European peace grew out of the condition of Italy. The failure of the Revolution of 1848 left that land divided and garrisoned by foreign troops — Austrians in the northeast, and French troops, supporting the papal monarchy, at Rome. The kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont alone clung to liberal ideas, a constitution, and the tricolor flag — emblem of Italian unity; and it was to King Victor Emmanuel that Italian patriots thenceforth turned their eyes. Unfortunately his subjects numbered less than five millions as against the thirty-seven millions of Austria; and his kingdom was divided into four separate parts: (1) the malarial island of Sardinia, where there was no political life; (2) the coast land about Genoa, a seat of republicanism and disaffection to the dynasty; (3) Savoy (the home land of the royal house), a district French in speech, and controlled by the nobles and clergy; and (4) Piedmont, a land without industrial activity, and with only one large city, Turin, the residence of the court. Victor Emmanuel's subjects, however, had three important political advantages over all other peoples of Italy: (1) they had a patriotic and able king; (2) they had an army that could fight; (3) above all, they had in Count Cavour a minister — one of the greatest modern statesmen — whose life was devoted to the work of freeing and uniting Italy.

523. Italy after 1848

For a time Cavour was the most unpopular man in Turin, hated by radicals for his moderation, and by reactionaries for his liberalism. Gradually, Mazzini, the leader of the visionary republicans, lost ground, and the true greatness of Cavour was recognized. From 1850 until his death, in 1861, he was, with one short interval, prime minister and almost dictator of the kingdom. In addition to remodeling taxes, he reformed the clergy. The number of monasteries and of ecclesiastics was excessive: there were 604 monasteries, and a priest to every 214 inhabitants; while Belgium and Austria, two strongly Catholic countries, had respectively only

524. Policy of Cavour (1850–1861)



GROWTH OF THE ITALIAN KINGDOM.

one in 500 and one in 610. After a bitter fight, Cavour carried through a moderate reform, abolishing the religious orders not engaged in public teaching, preaching, or nursing the sick. His farsighted statesmanship led the Sardinian troops to take part in the Crimean War, a step which was described as "a pistol shot in Austria's ear." Then, in the congress of Paris, Cavour was enabled to bring the cause of Italy before the diplomats of Europe and to pave the way for action later.

Great Britain was, in general, favorable to Italian hopes, but feared to see the peace of Europe again disturbed. Napoleon III., during his adventurous career as a young man, had taken an active part in the plots of the Carbonari to free Italy, and still favored that cause; but the Catholic party in France, which supported him, violently opposed any action which might endanger the Pope's temporal power. While Napoleon hesitated, a fanatical Italian patriot hurled three bombs at his carriage in the streets of Paris (January, 1858), by which 256 persons were killed or seriously wounded. Although the emperor and empress escaped unharmed, this attempt convinced him that his life would not be safe unless he redeemed his early vows. In July, 1858, he secretly agreed with Cavour to attack Austria at a fitting moment with 200,000 men, while Piedmont was to furnish half as many. Austria was to be entirely expelled from Italy, and her possessions there, together with some of the Papal States in the north, were to be annexed to Piedmont; in return, France was to be given Savoy, and possibly Nice, thus extending her territory to the Alps, her "natural frontier" on the southeast.

525. Attitude of Napoleon III.

A plausible pretext for war with Austria was needed, and the months which followed were the most trying of Cavour's life. His skill, working on Austrian stupidity and pride, brought it to pass that Austria issued an ultimatum (April, 1859), demanding that Sardinia disarm, on pain of war. Cavour was radiant with joy: Austria was put clearly in the wrong; Napoleon would now be obliged to help; the other Great Powers would remain neutral.

526. War in north Italy (1859)

The war proved short and decisive, lasting less than three months. On April 29, 160,000 Austrians crossed the Ticino River, which separated Austrian Lombardy from Piedmont. But the French army had already begun to pour over the Alps, and in May the French emperor arrived to take command in person. The allies then drove the Austrians out of

Piedmont, and at Magenta (June 4, 1859) inflicted upon them a severe defeat. This was soon followed (June 24) by a second victory, after a fiercely fought battle, at Solferino.

The complete expulsion of Austria from Italy now seemed certain. But suddenly, in July, Napoleon III., alarmed at the attitude of Prussia, deserted his allies and entered into negotiations for peace at Villafranca. When Victor Emmanuel found that he was deserted by the French, he could only resign himself to join in "the infamous treaty," which was signed at Zurich in November, 1859. Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont, but Venetia was left to Austria; the rest of Italy was to be restored to the condition in which it was at the opening of the war, and a scheme of Italian confederation was proposed under the presidency of the Pope.

The last provision could not be carried out. All central Italy had revolted from its rulers and sought union with Piedmont; and after the peace, Napoleon, who had his eye on Savoy and Nice, connived at the Piedmontese annexation of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the northernmost of the Papal States.

527. Kingdom of Italy founded (1860-1864)

The annexation of the kingdom of Sicily and Naples followed soon after, as the result of a successful revolution carried out (with Cavour's secret assistance) by Garibaldi, an adventurous knight-errant of Italian liberty. With a thousand "red shirts" he landed in Sicily (May, 1860), and was received by the people with open arms. In August Garibaldi passed over to the mainland; by September Naples was in his hands, and he was planning to march upon Rome and overturn the temporal power of the Pope. The sound statesmanship of Cavour saw that Europe was not ripe for this step, and he sent Piedmontese troops to check his too zealous ally. In February, 1861, the struggle came to an end with the surrender of Francis II., the last of the Bourbon kings of Naples. Already Sicily and Naples had declared, by overwhelming votes,

for union with Piedmont; and in March Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king of Italy.

Except Venetia and the Patrimony of St. Peter (as the district immediately about Rome was called), the whole of the peninsula was at last consolidated under one rule. Italy ceased to be a mere "geographical expression," and took its place as one of the nations of Europe. To this end many persons contributed, with heroic courage, high endeavor, noble sacrifice; but the genius which mastered all and brought the work to completion was that of Cavour. Three months later, in June, 1861, he died, worn out before his time by his labors for Italy.

Victor Emmanuel.

At the end of 1859 the reputation of Napoleon III. was at its highest point, and the world for a time "learned to look to Paris, as it had once looked to Vienna, as to the political oracle which should pronounce its fate." This proud position did not long continue, for a succession of causes contributed to Napoleon's decline. In 1863, the Poles again revolted against Russian absolutism and demanded a national government. Napoleon III., as the champion of the principle of nationality in Europe, sought to intervene in their behalf; but he only succeeded in mortally offending Russia, without in any way helping the Poles.

528. Decline of Napoleon III.'s prestige

An interference in the affairs of Mexico led to equally bad results. President Juarez had secured power there and was pursuing a vigorous anti-clerical policy. Unfortunately for him, Great Britain, Spain, and France had

529. The expedition to Mexico (1861)

claims against his country; and when the Mexican Congress voted to suspend all payments to foreign creditors for three years, these three powers (in 1861) joined in a coercive expedition. Napoleon went far beyond his allies in this matter; and to please the Catholic party at home, he took up the cause of Juarez's clerical enemies, and joined in a plan to make the archduke Maximilian — brother of Francis Joseph of Austria — emperor of Mexico. Thereupon Great Britain and Spain withdrew; but French troops for several years maintained Maximilian upon his throne. When the Civil War came to an end in the United States, a demand was made for the evacuation of Mexico, and in 1867 the French troops were withdrawn. Maximilian was then overthrown and shot, and public opinion rightly held Napoleon III. responsible for his tragic fate.

530. The Liberal Empire in France (1859–1870)

In France itself, meanwhile, important changes in the government took place. After 1859 the Catholic party turned against Napoleon, and to please the liberals he began a series of changes which revolutionized the constitution. The legislative chamber received the privilege (as was the practice in Great Britain) of drawing up an address in answer to the speech from the throne, thus giving the deputies an annual opportunity to express their opinions of the policy of the government. Next was granted the right of discussion at any time. Publication of the debates in the chamber, formerly prohibited, was allowed soon after this; and the government also repealed the laws hampering the press, and those forbidding the organization of trades unions and the holding of political meetings. Finally (in 1869) it was decreed that the ministers, who carried on the government in the emperor's name, should be responsible to the chamber. By these measures, from a practical absolutism there developed a parliamentary monarchy, sometimes called the "Liberal Empire."

The decline of the French Empire was hastened and its fall finally brought about by the growing power of Prussia, which was largely the work of a single statesman of genius and relentless will — Otto von Bismarck. "From the beginning of my career," he once said, "I have had but the one guiding star: By what means and in what way can I bring Germany to unity? and in so far as this end has been attained: How can I strengthen this unity and increase it and give it such form that it shall be enduringly maintained with the free consent of all coöperating forces?" Long service as the Prussian envoy at the Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfort taught him that Austria was the chief enemy to Prussian greatness and to German unity, and that ultimately Prussia would have to fight her. In 1862 Bismarck became the chief minister of Prussia, and from that time until his dismissal from office, in 1890, he played the largest part in shaping German destinies.

531. Policy of Prussia under Bismarck

BISMARCK.

Frederick William IV. died in 1861, leaving the throne to his brother, William I.: the new king heartily agreed with Bismarck's ends, but had scruples at times about the policy of "blood and iron" with which his minister carried them out. In order to secure a reorganization of the Prussian army, Bismarck for four years waged an unceasing conflict with the short-sighted liberal majorities of the Prussian Diet.

532. Accession of King William I. (1861)

In 1864 occurred the third war of this period, successfully waged by Prussia and Austria jointly against Denmark to protect the Germans of Sleswick and Holstein, who were under Danish rule. The two duchies were taken temporarily under the joint rule of the victors; and from this situation the adroit and unscrupulous diplomacy of Bismarck, by steps too intricate to be here related, succeeded (in June, 1866) in bringing forth his long contemplated war with Austria.

533. The Danish War (1864)

In this contest Austria was supported by all the South German states (including Saxony) and by Hanover and other states in North Germany. To Napoleon III. and to other observers it seemed that Prussia must surely be crushed. Italy, however, had secretly promised aid to Prussia in return for a promise of the Austrian province of Venetia. The Prussian army was armed with breech-loading "needle guns"; while the Austrians, in common with the rest of Europe, still used muzzle-loaders, in which no improvement had taken place since the beginning of the century, except the substitution of the percussion cap for the old flintlock. Above all, the Prussians had in Roon, the minister of war, who organized the army, and in Moltke, the general who directed operations in the field, men who in their spheres were as able as Bismarck was in diplomacy.

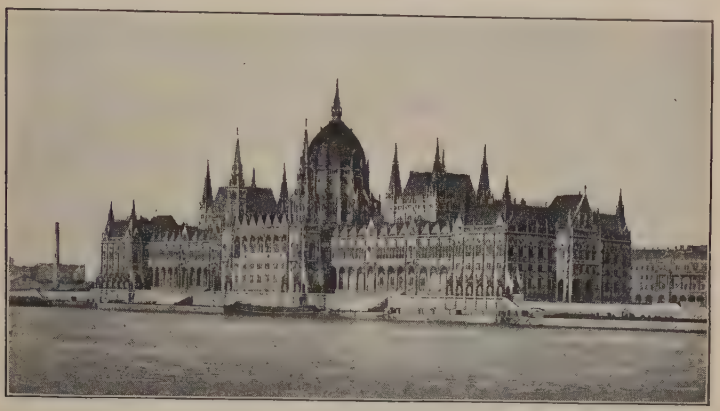
534. The Seven Weeks' War (1866)

The thorough preparations of the Prussians gave them from the beginning the advantage over their opponents. Within three days the Prussians occupied three hostile German states, and within seven weeks the war was over. On the eve of the decisive battle, Moltke joined the army in Bohemia, together with the king, Bismarck, and Roon. On July 3 the Austrians were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa. "Your majesty has won not only the battle," said Moltke to King William, "but the campaign."

With wise moderation Bismarck checked the demands of the military authorities, and offered Austria a liberal peace.

Venetia alone was taken from her, to be given to Italy. Prussia made no territorial gains from Austria, but did annex Sleswick-Holstein, together with the North German states which had sided against her — Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort (map, p. 547). Austria was obliged to pay a large war indemnity, and to consent to a reorganization of Germany with Austria left out. For a time this took the form of a North German Confederation,

535. Reorganization of Germany (1867)



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS OF HUNGARY AT BUDAPEST.
Erected in 1866.

centering about Prussia, with permission to the four states of the south (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt) to enter into alliances with the northern Confederation. The new Confederation was organized with a strong federal government, radically different from the old Diet.

At last the objects of Bismarck's policy were recognized, and from being the most hated man in Germany he became the most popular. The paramount influence which for centuries Austria had exercised in German affairs was gone forever, and Prussia was becoming the heart and the head of a new and united German nation. Austria saved herself from impo-

tence only by converting the Austrian Empire into the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, with a separate Hungarian parliament and ministry (1867).

Napoleon III. in this crisis had committed "every error which it was possible to commit." Counting on making his own profit out of the war, he allowed Prussia to crush Austria and unite Germany, only to find every attempt at French "compensation" foiled by Bismarck's diplomacy. Napoleon's prestige thus suffered further decline. The French army took the victories of the Prussians as a personal affront, and demanded that they be allowed to "avenge Sadowa." French statesmen now saw in Prussia a rival for that ascendency in Europe which France had enjoyed for two hundred years. The imperial throne was shaken to its foundations.

536. Attitude of Napoleon III. (1866–1867)

In 1866 the French army was too unprepared and too disorganized by the Mexican expedition for Napoleon to go to war; hence his demand that France be allowed to seize territories on the left bank of the Rhine belonging to Bavaria was refused, and by publishing the project Bismarck drew the South German states to Prussia. Then Napoleon proposed that France be allowed to conquer Belgium; and Bismarck, after getting the French envoy to write out a draft of a treaty to that effect, broke off negotiations, and later published the treaty during the Franco-German War to win the sympathy of Europe. In 1867 Napoleon again sought "compensation" in the annexation of the duchy of Luxemburg, which belonged to the king of Holland, but was garrisoned by Prussia; here, too, Bismarck interfered. Cajoled, thwarted, humiliated, France burned to avenge herself on the "upstart Prussians," and what seemed a fitting occasion was soon at hand.

The final breach between France and Prussia grew out of events in Spain. There Ferdinand VII. (§ 488) had been suc-

ceeded in 1833 by his daughter, Isabella II., against the protests of her uncle Carlos, who claimed the throne; and her reign was filled with intrigues and civil war on the part of the Carlists, with factional fights among her own supporters, and with misgovernment, superstition, and intolerance. In 1869 a liberal revolution under General Prim brought the reign of the dissolute queen to an end, and it then became necessary to find a ruler to take her place.

537. Question of the Spanish crown (1869–1870)

After repeated attempts, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, one of the petty princes of southern Germany, was induced (in July, 1870) to become a candidate, subject to approval by King William as head of the Hohenzollern house. This choice caused a storm of indignation in Paris. Gramont, the French minister of foreign affairs, represented it in the French Chamber as a proposal which would "put in peril the interests and honor of France," and he added that the government "would know how to fulfill its duty without hesitation and without feebleness."

WILLIAM I.

This threat of war naturally inflamed the people of both Germany and France. The French government demanded that King William should induce Prince Leopold to withdraw his candidature. The king refused to force him; but a few days later the prince publicly withdrew his name. Gramont next required a promise from the Prussian king, through the French ambassador, that he would never in the future permit the

prince to renew his candidature. This request was presented to the king at Ems, and was politely but firmly refused.

In all this there was no real cause for war. But Bismarck was anxious for war, believing that a struggle with France was certain, that the union of Germany depended upon it, and that Prussia would never be better prepared. The telegram which stated the facts of the interview reached Bismarck at Berlin, while he was at dinner with Moltke and Roon. Bismarck later said: —

538. Outbreak of Franco-German War (July, 1870)

"As I read it to them, they were both actually terrified, and Moltke's whole being suddenly changed. He seemed to be quite old and infirm. It looked as if our most gracious majesty might knuckle under after all. I asked him [Moltke] if, as things stood, we might hope to be victorious. On his replying in the affirmative, I said, 'Wait a minute!' and, seating myself at a small table, I boiled down those two hundred words to about twenty, but without otherwise altering or adding anything. It was the same telegram, yet something different — shorter, more determined, less dubious. I then handed it over to them, and asked, 'Well, how does that do now?' 'Yes,' they said, 'it will do in that form.' And Moltke immediately became quite young and fresh again. He had got his war, his trade."

Busch, Bismarck, I. 304; II. 174

The dispatch, thus altered, was interpreted in the Prussian press to mean that the king had been insulted and had snubbed the French envoy, which was not the case. In both Berlin and Paris the war spirit rose to fever heat. To Thiers and others who opposed war on the ground that France was not sufficiently prepared, the French government gave the assurance that the army was "ready to the last gaiter button." The declaration of war was delivered by France to Prussia on July 19, the French prime minister declaring that he accepted the responsibility "with a light heart." Never did a state rush more blindly to its own destruction.

France stood alone in the war, in spite of promises of aid from Austria and Italy; while Prussia was assisted by the South German as well as the North German states. The Prussian armies showed the same thorough preparation and energy which had brought success in 1866; but the French, when put to the test, were found greatly lacking. In arrangements for supplying and transporting troops, in generalship, and in the spirit which animated officers and men, the Germans were superior. In courage the French equaled them, and they had equally good breech-loading rifles (*chassepots*) and the first of machine guns (the *mitrailleuse*). These advantages could not make up for their other weaknesses; and it was France instead of Germany that was invaded, Paris instead of Berlin that was taken.

539. Superiority of Prussia

Chassepot.

Hostilities began August 2, 1870. On August 6 the French were defeated at Wörth, after a bloody contest, and were forced to fall back from the frontier. A series of battles followed, ending with a desperate struggle at Gravelotte (August 18), with the result that the French armies under Bazaine and MacMahon were prevented from uniting, and Bazaine with one hundred and seventy thousand men took refuge in the strongly fortified city of Metz. Leaving a force to besiege him, the main German army turned westward after MacMahon, whom they found at Sedan. There, on September 1, was fought "one of the decisive battles of the world — a battle that resulted in the surrender of the largest army ever known to have been taken in the field, a battle that dethroned a dynasty and changed the form of government in France." MacMahon was defeated and surrounded by an overwhelming force; and next day his army of one hundred thousand men, together with the

540. Sedan campaign (1870)

emperor Napoleon, surrendered. France was left without an army in the field.

541. Fall of the Second French Empire (1870)

The news from Sedan caused an insurrection at Paris which overthrew the Second Empire (September 4, 1870). Under mob pressure a republic was proclaimed, and a Government of National Defense was formed, of which the chief members were Jules Favre and Léon Gambetta. Empress Eugénie, who had acted as regent since the beginning of the war, fled to England, where she lived more than thirty years in lonely widowhood. Napoleon III. was detained in the German chateau of Wilhelmshohe until the end of the war; he died an exile in England in 1873. Their only son, the Prince Imperial, was slain in Africa in 1879, while fighting as a volunteer in one of Great Britain's petty wars with Zulu tribes.

542. Siege of Paris (1870–1871)

Leaving an army to continue the siege of Metz, the Germans advanced on Paris, and began the siege of that city September 19, 1870. The French capital was one of the most strongly fortified cities in the world, and great efforts had been made to provision it. During the siege of five months, communication with the outside world was kept up by means of carrier pigeons and balloons. Gambetta escaped from the city in a balloon, and at Tours worked with fierce energy, but in vain, to organize new armies and to rescue Paris. Bazaine, who was incompetent and disloyal, surrendered Metz on October 27, thus setting free a large number of German troops to use about Paris. On December 27, after long delays, the bombardment of the city's defenses began, and fort after fort was silenced. The sufferings of the Parisians during the siege were appalling. When the city was face to face with actual starvation, Paris surrendered (January 28, 1871).

Before peace could be concluded, a recognized government was needed in France; to furnish this a National Assembly

THE MODERN GERMAN EMPIRE
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Boundary of the German Empire since 1871.
Southern boundary of the North German Confederation (1866-1871).
Ceded by France to the German Empire in 1871.
1. Part of Prussia: formerly the principality Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.
2, 2, other parts of Prussia.
3, 3, parts of Oldenburg.
5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, Thuringian States:
For these and other numbers see also table at left.
THE STATES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOMS:
Prussia
Bavaria
Saxony
Württemberg
GRAND DUCHIES:
Baden
Hesse
Mecklenburg-Schwerin
Mecklenburg-Strelitz (4,4)
Saxe-Weimar (5, 5, 5)
Oldenburg
DUCHIES:
Brunswick (6, 6, 6, 6)
Saxe-Meiningen (7)
Saxe-Altenburg (8, 8)
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (9, 9)
Anhalt (10,10)
PRINCIPALITIES:
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (11)
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (12)
Waldeck (13)
Reuss, Elder Line (14)
Reuss, Younger Line (15,15)
Schaumburg-Lippe (16)
Lippe (17)
FREE TOWNS:
Lübeck
Bremen
Hamburg
IMPERIAL LAND:
Alsace-Lorraine
L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO, N.Y.
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Schleswig
Kiel
Holstein
HELIGOLAND
Lübeck
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN
Pomerania
Danzig
East Prussia
Hamburg
Bremen
OLDENBURG
NORTH SEA
Amsterdam
Hanover
Elbe R.
Brandenburg
Berlin
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Warsaw
RUSSIA
Westphalia
Wilhelmshöhe
Leipzig
Dresden
Silesia
Breslau
Brussels
BELGIUM
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
Cologne
(Nassau)
Ems
Frankfort
Königrätz (Sadowa)
Cracow
Sedan
LUXEMBURG
Darmstadt
Prague
Bohemia
Paris
Rheims
Versailles
Metz
Gravelotte
Worth
ALSACE
LORRAINE
Seine R.
Strasburg
WÜRTTEMBERG
Ulm
Danube R.
Danube R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Munich
Basel
Zurich
Alps
Budapest
Theiss R.
Loire R.
FRANCE
547

was called at Bordeaux, and the aged Thiers was chosen as head of the executive government. At Versailles (February 26, 1871) the preliminaries of peace were signed. France agreed to cede to Germany the greater part of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, including the fortified cities of Metz and Strassburg, and to pay a war indemnity of $1,000,000,000. On March 1 the Germans entered Paris in triumph. The result of the harsh terms of peace was a French hatred for Germany, which has scarcely yet lost its bitterness.

543. Peace of Versailles (Feb. 1871)

The victory over France was the last step needed to complete the union of Germany. After much negotiation Bismarck's skillful diplomacy overcame alike the disinclination of the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg to surrender their independence, and objections raised by his Prussian master to some details. January 18, 1871, in the hall of the old royal palace at Versailles, the result of the negotiations was made known by the proclamation of King William as hereditary "German Emperor." The constitution of the new empire was practically that of the North German Confederation, with the addition of the four South German states.

544. German Empire proclaimed (Jan. 1871)

At Paris revolutionary unrest, socialist agitation, fears of a monarchist reaction, and economic distress led a portion of the National Guard to rebel against the government which Thiers established at Versailles. The rebels set up a municipal government called the Commune, and adopted the red flag of the socialists. The revolt broke out on March 18, 1871, and lasted until May 28, the government laying siege to the city, while the German troops remained neutral.

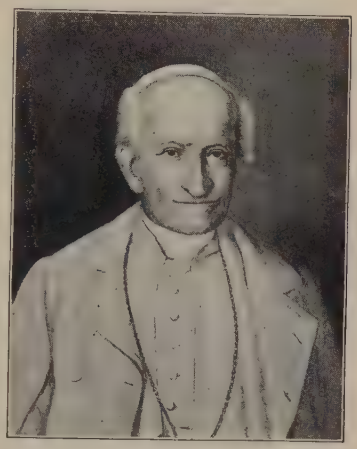
545. Commune in Paris (1871)

On May 21 the government troops entered the city, and there followed a week of the fiercest civil warfare that history records. Insurgents taken with arms in their hands were shot down without ceremony. Materially and politically Paris suffered more injury from the Commune than from the Germans.

The Column Vendôme, erected in 1814 to commemorate the victories of Napoleon I., was wantonly destroyed, together with many public buildings. France was in no mood to show mercy; the Communards were hunted down relentlessly, and more than seven thousand were sent as convicts to New Caledonia, in the South Pacific Ocean.

The Franco-German War gave the opportunity for King Victor Emmanuel to complete the union of Italy by seizing Rome, which for a thousand years had been ruled by the Popes; for the French troops which had supported the papal rule were now withdrawn. September 20, 1870, the Italian troops, after a feeble resistance from the papal garrison, marched into Rome amid the cheers of the people; and not one of the Great Powers raised its voice in serious protest. Thenceforth Rome was the capital of the kingdom of Italy. An attempt was made to come to a friendly arrangement with the Pope, and a liberal annuity was offered him, together with the right to keep up in the Vatican the rank of a sovereign prince. But Pius IX. could not consent to the loss of the temporal power of the papacy. Throughout the rest of his life he remained a voluntary "prisoner" in the Vatican; and the policy he began was closely followed by his successor, the liberal and enlightened Leo XIII. (1878–1903). In spite of the loss of its temporal power, the position of the papacy has never been higher than it is to-day; and to many minds this seems partly due to the fact that the Pope's posi-

546. Italian unity completed (1870)



Leo XIII.

tion is no longer complicated by the local cares and ambitions of an Italian prince.

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547. Summary

The third quarter of the nineteenth century, which coincides roughly with the reign of Napoleon III. in France, was a period of great development alike in industry, science, and politics. The rapid spread of railroad and telegraph lines, the linking of continents by the submarine cable (after 1866), the increased use of steam navigation, the growth of manufactures and commerce, all increased material prosperity and changed the conditions of human life. In physical science the nature of light, heat, and electricity was more clearly ascertained, and the doctrine of the "conservation of energy" was developed; in biology the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) gave scientific standing to the doctrine of evolution, and greatly changed many lines of thought.

In political history the period saw five wars, growing out of the ambitions of Russia and France, and the national hopes of Italy and Germany. Russian designs upon Turkey were checked in the Crimean War (1854–1856), and the rule of the Turk in Europe, with all its evils, was allowed to continue. The statesmanship of Cavour, aided by Napoleon III., laid the foundation of the union of Italy under the king of Sardinia (1859), which was completed during the Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars (1866 and 1870–1871). Germany, too, was united by the genius of Bismarck, through war with Austria and with France; and the new German Empire was created (1871). Before such statesmanship as these men displayed, the glory of Napoleon III. gradually paled; prematurely old, infirm of body and of will, he let the direction of affairs slip from his hands, and foolish counsels hurried France into ruinous war. The empire fell, and on the ghastly ruins of the Commune was erected the present Third Republic.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was the domestic policy of Napoleon III. wise or unwise? (2) Why could not Great Britain and France permit Russia to exercise a protectorate over the sultan's Christian subjects? (3) How did the progress of arts and science make the conditions of the Crimean War different from those of Napoleon I.? (4) Did the Crimean War help in any way toward a settlement of the Eastern Question? (5) Why did Napoleon III. aid Sardinia-Piedmont against Austria in 1859? (6) Did he entirely keep his promise to Cavour? (7) Why did the United States demand the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico? (8) How was the Sleswick-Holstein question finally settled? (9) Which side was responsible for the Austro-Prussian War? (10) To what was the Prussian success due? (11) How did this success help the cause of German unity? (12) Why was France angered by it? (13) Which side was responsible for the Franco-German War? (14) Was Bismarck's alteration of the Ems dispatch justifiable? (15) Where should the blame lie for the failure of the French in the war? (16) How did the war enable Bismarck to complete the formation of the German Empire? (17) Granting that those who set up the Commune at Paris were honest in their views, was their action patriotic? (18) Why did Victor Emmanuel seek to win Rome for his capital? (19) Why did the Pope resist?

Search topics

(20) Personal character of Napoleon III. (21) The Empress Eugénie. (22) De Lesseps and the Suez Canal. (23) The first world's fair. (24) Facts concerning the charge of the Light Brigade (Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*). (25) Florence Nightingale. (26) Cavour. (27) Napoleon III.'s reasons for aiding Italy. (28) Victor Emmanuel. (29) Maximilian in Mexico. (30) Bismarck. (31) Moltke. (32) King William I. (33) Causes of the Franco-German War. (34) Reasons for the South German aid to Prussia. (35) The Sedan campaign. (36) Incidents of the siege of Paris. (37) Gambetta. (38) The Commune. (39) Rebuilding of Paris. (40) Proclamation of the German Emperor at Versailles. (41) Vatican Council of 1869–1870. (42) Loss of the Pope's temporal power. (43) Progress of science, 1850–1875.

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CHAPTER XXX.

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

GREAT BRITAIN is "the only state in Europe which has gone through the nineteenth century without a revolution"; yet though the framework of her constitution remained unaltered, its practical operation was profoundly changed. At the beginning of the century the government was entirely in the hands of the aristocracy, composed of large landowners and of members of the established church; at its end, power was shared with the middle class, the industrial democracy, and the agricultural laborers, and all religious disabilities were abolished.

548. Introductory survey

Seignobos, Europe since 1814, p. 98

Until the close of the gigantic struggle with Napoleon, all projects of reform were stopped by the fear lest Great Britain might, like France, be led into revolution; when that contest was over, Great Britain soon resumed her natural development. Nowhere was the Industrial Revolution more marked. The north of England, where manufacturing centered because of its supplies of iron and coal, became the most populous, the wealthiest, and the most influential part of the kingdom. "A new England was added to the old," says a French writer; "it was as if a new land had been upheaved from the sea, and joined on to the shores of some old-world continent." The leaders of this industrial north, acting with the old Whig aristocrats, then began a series of political and humanitarian reforms, in the reigns of George IV. (1820–1830) and William IV. (1830–1837), which were continued in the long and beneficent reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901).

Boutmy, English Constitution, 186

CHIEF PRODUCTS
AND
MANUFACTURES
OF THE
BRITISH ISLES
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Coal Fields
Boundaries of Counties
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
IONA
BUTE
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Carlisle
Stockton
Darlington
Leeds
Manchester
Liverpool
Sheffield
Birmingham
Dublin
Belfast
ANGLESEY
I. OF MAN
Cardiff
Old Sarum
London
Plymouth
OATS
FISH
SHEEP
WHEAT
LINENS
SHIPS
IRON
WOOLENS
COTTONS
CLAY
COTTON
MACHINERY
SALT
POTTERY
CATTLE
HORSES
HOGS
DAIRY PRODUCE
FRUIT
CORNWALL
GRANITE
KENT

Freedom of worship had been granted to dissenters (*i.e.* Protestants not members of the established church) by the Toleration Act of 1689; but it was not until 1828 that the laws forbidding dissenters to take political office were repealed. Jews were not permitted to sit in Parliament until 1858. The most severe of the anti-Catholic laws were repealed in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but Catholics were still shut out of office because of the scruples of George III., who insisted that his coronation oath to defend the English Church would not permit him to assent to any law admitting Catholics to Parliament.

549. Removal of religious disabilities

His successor, George IV., was a man of low moral character, and his scruples were disregarded. Daniel O'Connell, an eloquent Catholic lawyer, organized a widespread Catholic Association in Ireland, and was elected to the House of Commons with the purpose of testing the right of a Catholic to sit in that body. To avert imminent danger of revolution, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, who were the Tory leaders of the government, gave way; and in 1829, to the great disgust of their Tory followers, they secured the passage of a bill admitting Catholics to seats in Parliament and to nearly all offices in the state.

For the union of the British Isles under one Parliament, the first step had been taken in the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707 (§ 359). The second was taken in 1800–1801, when, as the result of a recent rebellion in Ireland, the Irish Parliament was cajoled and bribed into merging its existence in that of the Parliament of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," sitting at Westminster. Thenceforth (until the apportionment was changed by the Reform Acts) Ireland had 100 members in the House of Commons, to 45 for Scotland and 513 for England and Wales.

550. Parliamentary union (1707–1801)

The members of the House of Commons were of two sorts, — county (or shire) representatives and borough representatives.

Almost every county, large or small, had two members; and the right to vote was restricted to "freehold" tenants holding lands worth at least forty shillings per annum rental. The Scottish county of Bute, with a population of fourteen thousand, had only twenty-one electors; and it is related that at one time only one elector appeared, who forthwith took the chair, moved and seconded his own nomination, cast his vote, and declared himself unanimously elected.

551. Parliamentary representation before 1832

The boroughs were represented usually by two members each (a few had only one), and there had been practically no change in the list of boroughs since the days of Charles II. Many populous manufacturing towns, like Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, were without representation. On the other hand, many places which had lost their former consequence, or even (like Old Sarum) were without any inhabitants at all, continued to return members to Parliament. The seats of such "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs were often publicly sold by the landlord, or in some boroughs by the voters themselves. The qualifications for the franchise varied greatly in different boroughs, in some only the small governing body — a close corporation — having the right to vote. Not merely were large parts of the kingdom unrepresented (according to American ideas of representation), and the majority of the adult male population without votes; but in a House of Commons of six hundred and fifty-eight members, not more than one third were the free choice even of the limited bodies of electors that had the franchise.

After many attempts at partial reform, Lord John Russell carried a general Reform Bill through the House of Commons in 1831. The strong Tory majority in the House of Lords, after once rejecting the bill, yielded to the threat of the ministers to require the king's consent to the creation of enough new peers to overcome the opposition (June, 1832). The

552. The Reform Acts of 1832–1884

act took away one hundred and forty-three seats from small boroughs, and used these to increase the representation of the more populous counties and to give representation to the unrepresented manufacturing towns of the north. The purpose of the bill may be described in language which Russell used of one of his earlier measures: "My proposal took away representation from the dead bones of a former state of England, and gave it to the living energy and industry of the England of the nineteenth century, with its steam engines and factories, its cotton and woolen cloths, its cutlery and its coal mines, its wealth and its intelligence." The franchise for both county and borough electors was at the same time made more liberal, and uniformity of qualification was introduced among the boroughs.

Russell, Speeches and Dispatches, I. 30

The reform of 1832 substituted the rule of the middle classes — of the small farmers and shopkeepers — for the rule of the aristocracy. The further step of making the government democratic was accomplished by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884. The first of these was passed by the Conservatives (as the Tories were now called) while Disraeli was leader of the House of Commons; it about doubled the number of voters by giving workingmen the franchise. The second was passed while Gladstone, the Whig or Liberal leader, was prime minister, and added about two million persons, mostly rural laborers, to the voting body. Since the passage of the latter act, the franchise has remained almost as widely distributed in Great Britain as it is in the United States.

553. Humanitarian reforms

A reform of the criminal law began even before the passage of the first parliamentary Reform Act. At the beginning of the century, two hundred and twenty-three offenses were punishable with death: these included such slight crimes as hunting in the king's forests, injuring Westminster bridge, and shoplifting to the value of five shillings. With the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly there began a reform of the

criminal laws, which did not stop until murder and treason were left the sole capital crimes.

In 1772 the courts declared that a slave brought to England became free. Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others then carried on agitation which led Parliament, in 1807, to abolish entirely the slave trade by British ships or to British colonies. Finally, in 1833, Parliament passed an act abolishing slavery itself in the colonies and appropriating £20,000,000 to compensate the masters.

Steps were also taken to improve the lot of free laborers. In manufacturing establishments men, and even women and children, at times worked as many as eighteen hours a day. The first general Factory Act, passed in 1833, prohibited the employment of children under nine years, and limited the hours of labor for those between nine years and thirteen years to nine hours a day, and for "young persons" between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours. Subsequent acts further limited the employment of children, provided for better sanitary surroundings and education, and prohibited the employment of women in mines.

554. Reform of the Poor Laws (1834)

A reform of the Poor Laws was one of the acts of the reformed Parliament. During the distress caused by the war with Revolutionary France, the local authorities had begun the practice of giving "out-door relief" to able-bodied poor, *i.e.* without making them inmates of workhouses. Employers took advantage of this support to cut down wages; laborers were pauperized by the knowledge that they would be maintained whether they worked or not; and local taxes rose to ruinous rates. In 1834 the demoralizing practice was stopped by a new Poor Law, which abolished out-door relief for the able-bodied, made a willingness to go to the workhouse a test of the need of aid, and established a department of the central government to supervise the system.

Queen Victoria succeeded her uncle, William IV., while she

was still a girl of eighteen.[1] She had been prudently trained by her mother, the widowed Duchess of Kent, and from the beginning of her reign showed intelligence and goodness of heart. The crown of Hanover, which had been joined in personal union with that of Great Britain since 1714, passed to her uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, as the nearest male heir; but throughout her life Victoria took a keen interest in German affairs. In part this was due to her mother's German birth, to her own happy marriage, in 1840, to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and to the marriage of her eldest

555. Accession of Victoria (1837)

VICTORIA IN 1897.

[1] The following table shows the family of George III. and of Queen Victoria :—

(1) GEORGE III. (1760–1820)

(2) GEORGE IV. (1820–1830) | Frederick, Duke of York (d. 1827) | (3) WILLIAM IV. (1830–1837) | Edward, Duke of Kent (d. 1820) | Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, (K. of Hanover 1837–1851)

(4) VICTORIA (1837–1901), m. Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (d. 1861)

Victoria, m. Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, later German Emperor | (5) EDWARD VII. (1901–), m. Alexandra of Denmark | Alice, m. Prince of Hesse | Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, and later Duke of Saxe-Coburg | Helena, m. Prince of Augustenburg | Louise, m. Marquis of Lorne, later Duke of Argyle | Arthur, Duke of Connaught | Leopold, Duke of Albany | Beatrice, m. Prince of Battenberg

George Frederick, Prince of Wales, m. Victoria Mary of Teck | Louise, m. Duke of Fife | Victoria | Maud, m. Prince Karl of Denmark

Edward Albert | Albert Frederick | Henry William | George Edward

daughter to the crown prince of Prussia, later himself German emperor and father of the emperor William II.

At first the Tories felt doubtful of influencing the young queen. "I have no small talk," said the Duke of Wellington, in explaining why the Tories could not compete with the Whigs, "and Peel has no manners." But the queen loyally played the part of a constitutional sovereign, calling to the head of the administration the leaders of the Whigs (or Liberals) at one time, and the Tories (or Conservatives) at another, according as the one party or the other had a majority in the House of Commons.

Early in the queen's reign (1839), a measure was carried by which the high rates of postage on letters were reduced to the uniform rate of one penny for all places in the United Kingdom, and adhesive stamps were introduced with which to prepay postage. This reform enormously increased the amount of mail carried, and greatly helped social progress; and it was soon adopted by all civilized countries.

556. Penny postage

Another important measure was the abolition of the import duties on "corn," *i.e.* grain, which was carried through Parliament while Sir Robert Peel, the Tory leader, was prime minister. The Corn Laws imposed duties calculated to keep the price of wheat uniformly high, for the benefit of the landlords. Manufacturers protested, because such laws made living dear and compelled the payment of higher wages. An Anti-Corn-Law League was organized (in 1838) under Richard Cobden and John Bright, to procure the repeal of these duties; and in 1845, as Cobden said, "Famine itself, against which we had warred, joined us." In Ireland a disease attacked the potato, which was the chief article of food of the peasantry; two million persons are said to have died of starvation and want, and within four years another million emigrated to America. The Whig leader, Russell, took up the cry for the repeal of the corn laws, on the ground that they had

557. Repeal of the Corn Laws (1846)

"been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." In January, 1846, Peel, with the assistance of the Whigs, carried through both houses of Parliament the repeal of the obnoxious laws. This measure completed a series of changes in the customs laws which committed Great Britain to the policy of free trade. To Peel it brought political downfall, for the Tory protectionists, hating and repudiating their former leader, soon joined the Whigs in overthrowing his government.

Walpole, Life of Russell, I. 408

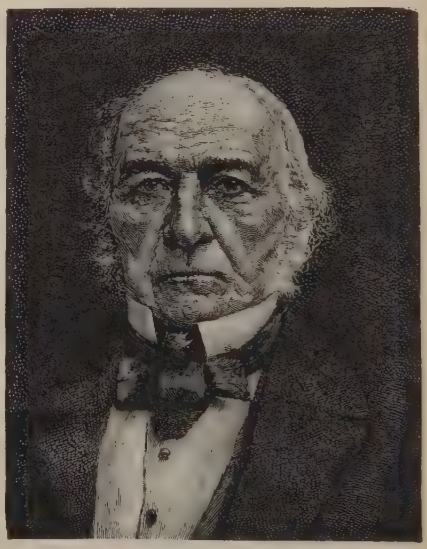
In the thirty-five years following the Reform Act of 1832, the Conservatives were in office less than seven years altogether; in the next thirty-five years (1868–1903) they were in office twenty-three years, principally because (1) they adopted a liberal policy with respect to domestic reforms, and (2) they gave more prominence than Liberals to foreign and colonial affairs. The Conservative leader who did most to educate his party on these lines was Disraeli, later made Earl of Beaconsfield. In 1868 for the first time he became prime minister; and Russell surrendered the leadership of the Liberal party, then in opposition, to Gladstone: from that day until Beaconsfield's death, in 1881, there was a prolonged political duel between these two great statesmen. Gladstone entered Parliament in 1833 as an extreme Tory, became a Peelite, then an out-and-out Liberal, and after more than sixty years of active political life ended his parliamentary career in 1894 as a Radical.

558. Gladstone and Disraeli

In December, 1868, Disraeli was supplanted by Gladstone as prime minister on the question of the continuance of the established Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, to which at the time of the Reformation had been assigned the former position and property of the Roman Catholic Church. Nine tenths of the people, however, held to the old

559. Irish Church disestablished (1869)

faith, and in 1835 it was reported that in one hundred and fifty-one parishes there was not a single Protestant. The conscience of England, and especially that of Gladstone, gradually awoke to the injustice of taxing the Irish people for the support of a faith professed by so small a minority; and as the first act of his first premiership he introduced and carried through Parliament, in 1869, a measure which disestablished and partly disendowed the Protestant Irish Church.



GLADSTONE.

560. Other reforms (1869–1874)

Gladstone was responsible for a host of other reforms in his first premiership (1869–1874), among which were: an act establishing in England, for the first time, a state system of elementary education (1870); the abolition of all religious tests at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1871); an act introducing secret voting by ballot (1872); an act reorganizing and unifying the great law courts (1873); and an Irish Land Act (1870), which attempted to remedy some of the economic evils which weighed upon the Irish peasantry.

561. The Irish land question

In later years Gladstone was forced more and more to consider Irish questions. With the general development of the spirit of nationality in the nineteenth century came a desire for the restoration of the Irish Parliament, and this led, in 1870, to the formation of an Irish Home

Rule League. Agriculture and grazing were almost the only industries in Ireland, and yet the soil belonged chiefly to absentee landlords, whose titles went back to confiscations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; their main concern, usually, was to get as much rent from their peasant tenants as possible. Except in Ulster, tenants who made improvements in the lands they tilled ran the risk of having their rents raised as a result of their own industry. Evictions (the turning out of tenants for failure to pay the rent demanded) were common; these led to cattle maiming, arson, and murder by way of revenge; then, to put down these "agrarian crimes," Parliament passed coercive laws.

562. Parnell and the Land League (1879–1886)

In 1879 a National Land League was formed, under Parnell, the leader of the Irish party in Parliament, whose demands were summed up in the "three F's": (1) fixity of tenure, (2) free sale, and (3) fair rent. In 1880 the "boycott" (so called from Captain Boycott, the first notable victim of the system) was devised as a means of combating those who violated these principles. In Parliament, Parnell at the head of a solid Irish party adopted the policy of systematically "obstructing" all business until Irish grievances should be redressed. Gladstone's second administration (1880–1885) passed a second Irish Land Act (1881), which did much good, but fell short of the demands of the Irish party.

563. Gladstone's Home Rule policy (1886)

In his third administration (1886) Gladstone went further, and announced his conversion to the cause of Home Rule. This led to a split in the Liberal party—the majority following their official leader, while a minority, of whom Chamberlain was the most important, formed the Liberal-Unionist party, and thereafter acted with the Conservatives. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, introduced in 1886, was defeated in the House of Commons by 341 to 311 votes. Under the parliamentary system of government, a prime minister whose measures are defeated in the Commons must

either resign, or dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country in a general election. Gladstone chose the latter course, with the result that in the new House of Commons he had only 276 supporters against 394, and a Conservative ministry, under Lord Salisbury, was formed.

Lord Salisbury's (second) administration lasted from 1886 to 1892. Some further steps were taken toward solving the Irish land question, but nothing was done toward giving Home Rule to Ireland. The Irish cause was weakened by a split in the Home Rule party, a portion of the Irish members repudiating Parnell (who died in 1891) on personal grounds. Under the British constitution the members of Parliament are not chosen for any definite period, but no Parliament may sit for more than seven years. Under this provision Lord Salisbury, in 1892, dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The Liberals, under Gladstone, adopted a platform demanding Home Rule for Ireland, the disestablishment of the Anglican (Protestant Episcopal) Church in Wales, the "ending or mending" of the House of Lords, payment for members of Parliament, and other Radical measures. The result of the elections was a House of Commons containing a Gladstonian majority of forty.

564. Weakening of the Irish party (1886–1892)

Thus for the fourth time Gladstone, "the Grand Old Man," became prime minister, which position he held until his resignation on account of ill health, in his eighty-fifth year, in 1894. The second Home Rule Bill, which was introduced in 1893, passed the House of Commons, but was defeated in the House of Lords by a vote of 419 to 41. When it is evident that the House of Commons has the nation behind it, the Lords will not venture to reject important measures, for fear the sovereign may be forced to create enough new peers (as was threatened in 1832) to overcome the opposition; but in 1893 it was not certain that if the simple issue of Home Rule for Ireland were presented to the electors a majority would

565. Irish questions (1893–1903)

be in its favor. Gladstone himself seems to have had his doubts, for instead of dissolving Parliament and holding a new election on this issue, he let Home Rule drop for the time, and carried through other measures to which he was pledged. After that time the cause of Home Rule languished.

The Irish land question was practically settled by an act passed, in 1903, by the Conservative government in agreement with the Irish party. The main feature of this act was a provision for a government loan to Irish tenants of £100,000,000 to be used in purchasing their holdings, repayment to be distributed over a long period. The peasant will thus at last become the owner of the land he tills, and the chief source of Ireland's ills will be at an end.

The British Parliament not only rules directly the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but is also the supreme lawmaking body for a vast colonial empire. By 1825 most of the Spanish, French, and Portuguese colonies had been lost — partly by revolts, partly by British conquests; the present colonial empires of France and of Germany date only from the nineteenth century. The British colonial empire, despite the loss of the thirteen American colonies in 1783, is "the only considerable survivor of a family of great [colonial] empires," which arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries out of the geographical discoveries which ushered in modern history.

566. Colonial empire

Seeley, Expansion of England, 43

At the close of the wars with Napoleon, in 1815, the British Empire included, outside of Europe, five great groups of territory: (1) British North America — mainly wrested from the French in the war which ended in 1763; (2) Jamaica and other islands in the West Indies, together with British Honduras and British Guiana — for the most part taken from Holland, France, and Spain in the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; (3) Cape Colony (Cape of Good Hope) in South Africa — conquered

567. British colonies in 1815

THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
Baffin Bay
BAFFIN LAND
ARCTIC ARCHIPELAGO
Davis Strait
Hudson Bay
Hudson Str.
DOMINION OF CANADA
ALASKA
WRANGELL I.
Pt. Barrow
Bering Sea
Bering Str.
Yukon R.
KLONDIKE REGION
KODIAK I.
Sitka
PRIBILOF IS.
ALEUTIAN IS.
QUEEN CHARLOTTE IS.
VANCOUVER I.
Winnipeg
Montreal
Ottawa
NEWFOUNDLAND
Portland
Minneapolis
Chicago
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
San Francisco
Denver
St. Louis
UNITED STATES
AZORES
BERMUDAS
MADEIRA IS.
New Orleans
Gulf of Mexico
BAHAMAS
CANARY IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
Honolulu
HAWAIIAN IS.
Havana
WEST INDIES
JAMAICA
HAITI
PORTO RICO
LEEWARD IS.
Mexico
MEXICO
Caribbean Sea
BARBADOS
WINDWARD IS.
TRINIDAD
CAPE VERDE IS.
C. Verde
Colon
Isthmus of Panama
Orinoco R.
VENEZUELA
GUIANA
COLOMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
PALMYRA
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
ECUADOR
Amazon R.
Para
PHOENIX IS.
UNION IS.
MANAHIKI IS.
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA IS.
TUTUILA
SOCIETY IS.
PERU
Lima
BRAZIL
ASCENSION
TONGA IS.
COOK IS.
TAHITI
PAUMOTU IS.
BOLIVIA
Rio de Janeiro
EASTER I.
KERMADEC IS.
Valparaiso
CHILE
Buenos Aires
ARGENTINA
TRISTAN DA CUNHA
CHATHAM I.
FALKLAND IS.
Port Stanley
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Str. of Magellan
Cape Horn
SOUTH GEORGIA
PALMER ARCHIPELAGO
GRAHAM LAND
180
150
120
90
60
30
0
Longitude
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

30
60
90
120
150
180
C T I C O C E A N
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
SPITZBERGEN
C. Chelyuskin
NEW SIBERIA IS.
NOVA ZEMBLA
North C.
S I B E R I A
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Archangel
White Sea
St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
Moscow
Omsk
Irkutsk
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Aral Sea
Tashkend
CHINESE EMPIRE
Peking
MANCHURIA
Vladivostok
Japan Sea
KOREA
Seoul
Tokyo
Yokohama
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Teheran
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINA
Wei hai wei
Canton
Cairo
Bombay
Calcutta
Rangoon
Bangkok
Hongkong
Manila
PHILIPPINE IS.
GUAM
LADRONE IS.
CAROLINE IS.
Arabian Sea
South China Sea
Saigon
Madras
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
CEYLON
BORNEO
Singapore
SYR. SET.
MALDIVE IS.
LACCADIVE IS.
SOKOTRA
EGYPT
SUDAN
ABYS.
BRIT. EAST AF.
KONGO STATE
Mombasa
ZANZIBAR
SEYCHELLES
CHAGOS IS.
AMIRANTE IS.
FARQUHAR I.
Mozambique
ANGOLA
RHODESIA
MADAGASCAR
Port Louis
RODRIGUEZ
MAURITIUS
REUNION
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
I N D I A N O C E A N
SUMATRA
EAST INDIES
Batavia
JAVA
COCOS IS.
NEW GUINEA
BISMARCK ARCH.
SOLOMON IS.
ELLICE IS.
SANTA CRUZ IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
LOYALTY IS.
NEW CALEDONIA
Noumea
NORFOLK I.
Brisbane
AUSTRALIA
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTH TER.
QUEENS LAND
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
Wellington
BOUNTY I.
ANTIPODES IS.
AUCKLAND I.
CAMPBELL I.
KERGUELEN I.
BOUVET IS.
CAPE Town's COLONY
Good Hope
NATAL
0
30
60
Longitude 30 East 60 from 90 Greenwich 120 150 180

from Holland, in 1806, while the latter was under Revolutionary France; (4) British India — acquired as a result of Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757; and (5) Australia.

Australia was the last of the continents to be discovered and colonized. Its existence was already known when the Dutchmen Torres (1606) and Tasman (1642) and the English buccaneer Dampier (1669) touched portions of its coast; it remained, however, for Captain Cook, under the auspices of the British government, in 1769, 1772, and 1776, to open these shores, as well as those of New Zealand, to European enterprise. Botany Bay, in New South Wales, was founded in 1788 as a British convict station, and New Zealand was settled in 1815 as a center for missionary work. Australia's rapid development was due to the introduction of wool growing, and to the discovery of gold in 1851.

Under the rule of the Liberals, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonies were lightly valued, and statesmen even looked forward to the time when they might be lost. "We know," said Gladstone, in 1864, "that British North America and Australia must before long be independent states; we have no interest except in their strength and well-being." But since submarine cables and regular steamship lines have made communication less difficult, there is no longer talk of letting the colonies fall "like ripe fruit from the tree"; on the contrary, efforts have been made to unite them firmly to each other and to their imperial mother by ties of loyal affection and interest.

568 British colonial policy

An important step was taken in 1867, when Parliament passed an act which resulted in the federal union (by 1873) of all British North America, except Newfoundland, under the name of the Dominion of Canada. In 1900, after some years of negotiation, a similar federation was formed of the five colonies of Australia and Tasmania into the Commonwealth of Australia.

569. Colonial and Imperial Federation

In 1887, in connection with the celebration of the completion of fifty years' rule by the queen, a Colonial Conference was called at London, which was attended by leading statesmen from all the self-governing colonies: this was the first step toward what is called Imperial Federation, *i.e.* giving to the colonies a share in the government of the British Empire. Several such conferences have since been held; and while no workable scheme for admitting the colonies to partnership has yet been devised, the ties have been drawn closer between Englishmen at home and their brethren "beyond seas."

570. Colonial governments

The colonies in which the British population is greatly outnumbered by native races (mainly within or near the tropics) are governed as crown colonies, through officials appointed chiefly from England. Where the population of British origin is relatively large and permanent, self-government has been granted, with representative legislatures and responsible ministries, and the home government rarely asserts its right of veto over colonial laws. The federal governments also of Canada and Australia are of the parliamentary type, with responsible ministries. Colonial governors are usually sent out from England, but except in the crown colonies they have little real power.

571. British India (1857–1877)

India, whose population is alien in race, religion, and modes of life, remains in a class apart. The rule of the East India Company, under a Board of Control appointed by the British government (§ 393), continued until the Indian Mutiny in 1857. This was a revolt of the native Sepoy troops, due to uneasiness created by the rapid progress of British ways and rule; its immediate occasion was an unfounded rumor that the new cartridges furnished to the troops were greased with a mixture of hog and beef fat — the one animal an object of loathing to Mohammedans and the other of religious worship to the Hindus. The movement was confined to the army and to a few provinces; it brought terrible

suffering to many of the English, including women and children, but was put down in 1858. After the Mutiny, the British government took over the rule of the British possessions in India, and the East India Company came to an end. A further step was taken in 1877, when the queen was proclaimed by a new title, that of "Empress of India."

South Africa was the region which, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, gave Great Britain most trouble. When slavery was abolished by the act of the British Parliament in 1833, many Dutch inhabitants ("Boers") of Cape Colony "trekked" northward to escape British rule, and founded Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic (Transvaal). Natal was annexed by the British in 1843. The attempt to bring the Transvaal under British rule led to a war with the Boers in 1880–1881, in which the British were defeated at Majuba Hill. In 1881 peace was made by Gladstone on the agreement that the Boers were to have self-government in internal affairs, but in external affairs were to be under the "suzerainty" of Great Britain. This agreement (modified somewhat in 1884) worked well until, in 1885, the discovery of rich gold deposits brought a flood of British miners and adventurers into the Transvaal; then friction followed between the Boers and these "uit-landers."

572. The Boer Wars (1880–1902)

THE BOER REPUBLICS (1899).

The result was the Second Boer War (1899–1902), with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Great Britain was successful, and both Dutch states were made British colonies. The

Boer Artillery in War of 1899–1902.

war revealed great defects in the administration of the British army, while the gallant fight made by the Boers aroused much sympathy. After the war a policy of conciliation was adopted, and it may be expected that local self-government for the conquered territories, and South African federation, will follow.

When Gladstone retired, in 1894, his ministry was continued (until June, 1895) by Lord Rosebery. Then the Conservatives came into power, first under Lord Salisbury (1895–1902), and later under Mr. Balfour; in both administrations Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, played a conspicuous part, until his resignation in 1903. Gladstone died in 1898, and Salisbury in 1903.

573. Accession of Edward VII. (1901)

More important than the death of either was the death, in 1901, of Queen Victoria. The loyal affection felt for her throughout the empire was shown at her jubilees, in 1887 and in 1897, on the completion of her fiftieth and sixtieth years of rule. Her reign will go down in history as one of

the most glorious in the annals of England — glorious not by reason of conquests and wars, but by reason of the progress of peace, enlightenment, morality, and of the uplifting of the people. In English literature it was an important epoch. Burns (1759–1796), Byron (1788–1824), and Scott (1771–1832) belong to an earlier period; but Wordsworth (1770–1850), Macaulay (1800–1859), Browning (1812–1889), and Tennyson (1809–1892) were of the Victorian era. Many forces combined to produce the greatness of England in this period; but among these must be reckoned the good Queen Victoria, whose "noble life and beneficent influence," to use the language of President McKinley, "have promoted the peace and won the affection of the world." The Prince of Wales, at the age of sixty, succeeded her as Edward VII.

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574. Summary

George III. (1760–1820), his sons George IV. (1820–1830) and William IV. (1830–1837), his granddaughter Victoria (1837–1901), and Edward VII. followed one another on the English throne. Under the Cabinet system of government the real power was wielded by great party leaders, who successively became prime ministers through the possession of a majority in the House of Commons. The chief Tory or Conservative prime ministers were Peel, Disraeli (or Beaconsfield), Salisbury, and Balfour; the chief Whig or Liberal premiers were Russell, Gladstone, and Rosebery. Parliament was reformed in 1832, in 1867, and in 1884–1885. Catholics were admitted to Parliament and to other offices in 1829. Free trade was adopted in 1846. The Protestant Episcopal Church was disestablished in Ireland in 1869; and in 1870, 1881, and 1903 Parliament took steps toward ending the Irish land troubles; Gladstone failed, however, in 1886 and 1893, in his attempt to pass a Home Rule bill. A series of humane reforms, the growth of British manufactures and commerce, and a great colonial expansion complete the list of the more

important facts in this period of Great Britain's internal history.

"England in the nineteenth century," says a French historian, "has served as a political model for Europe. The English people developed the political mechanism of modern Europe, — constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. The other nations have only imitated them." England got along without revolution because of two things: (1) she had an established constitution under which much political freedom was already enjoyed, together with a liberty of speech and of writing which made peaceable movements for reform possible; (2) the English are a conservative people, preferring to "muddle along" with existing conditions so long as they are endurable, and to change cautiously when change is necessary. Most reforms — religious emancipation, parliamentary reform, factory legislation, colonial union — have come gradually and as a result of compromise; thus Great Britain has escaped the see-saw of revolution and reaction, and each step in advance has been permanent.

Seignobos, Europe since 1815, p. 10

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Which contributed more to the advancement of the people, the gradual reforms of Great Britain or the revolutions of France? (2) How do you account for the conservative character of the English people? (3) Was it just to exclude Protestant dissenters, Catholics, and Jews from Parliament while taxing them? (4) Do the same reasons apply to the unrepresented towns and classes before the reform of Parliament? (5) What changes did the parliamentary reform acts make in the political control of Great Britain? (6) Which party profited most by the Reform Act of 1832? (7) Why did that advantage not continue? (8) Compare the abolition of slavery in the British Empire with that in the United States. (9) Which seems to you the greater statesman, Gladstone or Disraeli? (10) If you were English, would you be a Conservative, a Liberal, or a Liberal-Unionist? (11) What arguments may be urged for giving Home Rule to Ireland?

(12) What arguments may be urged for not doing so? (13) Why did Great Britain win in the contests for colonial empire? (14) By what right did she gain Australia? (15) In what respects was Queen Victoria a great ruler? (16) What differences are there between the position of a British prime minister and that of an American president? (17) What resemblances? (18) Compare the House of Commons with our national House of Representatives. (19) Compare the House of Lords with our Senate.

Search topics

(20) Daniel O'Connell. (21) Incidents of the parliamentary reform of 1832. (22) Circumstances of the reform of 1867. (23) British agitators for the abolition of slavery. (24) The factory acts. (25) Poor Law reform, 1834. (26) Richard Cobden and the repeal of the Corn Laws. (27) Irish famine of 1845. (28) Sir Robert Peel. (29) John Bright. (30) Lord John Russell. (31) Lord Palmerston. (32) Disestablishment of the Irish Church. (33) Gladstone's growth in liberal opinions. (34) His personality and character. (35) Disraeli. (36) The Irish land question. (37) Charles Stewart Parnell. (38) The Home Rule movement. (39) Lord Salisbury. (40) The acquisition of Great Britain's colonial empire. (41) Government of the Dominion of Canada. (42) History of the federation of Australia. (43) The Indian Mutiny. (44) The private life and character of Queen Victoria. (45) English literature in the Victorian era.

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A Sheep Farm in Australia.

EUROPE
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
SCANDINAVIA
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
TURKEY
GREECE
ITALY
GERMANY
PRUSSIA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
ASIA
AFRICA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Hammerfest
Archangel
St. PETERSBURG
Moscow
Riga
Warsaw
Berlin
Vienna
Budapest
Prague
Dresden
Munich
Paris
London
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Dublin
Liverpool
Bergen
Christiania
Stockholm
Gothenburg
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Amsterdam
Brussels
Lyons
Bordeaux
Marseilles
Madrid
Barcelona
Lisbon
Oporto
Valencia
Malaga
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Turin
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Salonika
Athens
Smyrna
Odessa
Kharkof
Kief
Nizhni Novgorod
Kazan
Samara
Orenburg
Perm
Ural Mts.
Caucasus Mts.
Tiflis
Baku
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Russian Turkestan
Lake Aral
Sea of Azof
Black Sea
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Str. of Gibraltar
Pyrenees
Alps
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Crete
Cyprus
Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
Faroe Is. (Den.)
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Iceland (Den.)
Reikjavik
Nova Zembla
Morocco
Algeria
Tunis
Barbary
Persia
Turkey in Asia
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
0 Longitude East 20 from Greenwich 40
BRADLEY & POATES, N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NATIONAL RIVALRIES AND THE NEW CONCERT OF THE POWERS (1871–1900)

(A) General History of the Period

Out of the opposition aroused by the French Revolution and the aggressions of the first Napoleon (1792–1815) came the idea of a confederation of Europe (an idea foreign to the older diplomacy) in which the sovereigns should make common cause to combat revolutionary principles and to regulate matters of common interest; and the embodiment of that idea was seen in the Holy and Quadruple alliances (§ 483), and the resulting congresses. Great Britain's opposition to intervention in the domestic politics of Spain and Italy in support of arbitrary government (§§ 488, 489) gave the first blow to this European concert; it was further weakened by differences of attitude toward the Greek revolution (§ 491), by conflicting interests in the Eastern Question (§ 520), and by the antagonistic foreign policy pursued by Napoleon III. (§§ 525, 529). The final triumph of the principle of national separatism over that of a community of Europe came with the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to the newly founded German Empire as a result of the Franco-German War.

575. Overthrow of old Concert of Powers (1822–1871)

A period of intense national rivalries then followed in Europe, marked by mutual suspicions among states and the furtherance of selfish national interests. Gradually, however, out of a consciousness of the burdens imposed by these rivalries, came a desire for concord, felt not only by rulers, but by the more enlightened classes of the people. Out of

BALKAN STATES (1878–1881).

this desire finally came, in the latter part of the period covered by this chapter, a restoration of the idea of a concert of the Great Powers and its extension in practice to cover the concerns of interest to civilized powers in all parts of the world. The only wars which actually broke out in Europe in the period here dealt with, were in the uneasy lands of the Balkan peninsula.

In spite of promises of reform often made by the sultan, Turkey continued to be a plague spot in Europe. In 1870

Russia seized the opportunity offered by the Franco-German War to declare that she would no longer be bound by the clauses of the treaty of Paris (§ 522) which limited her action in the Black Sea. This step aroused a fanatical movement in Turkey, the aim of which was to throw off the control of the Powers and oppose to Christendom the united force of Islam (Mohammedanism). As a result, in 1875, the Christians of Bulgaria and Herzegovina, with the aid of Montenegro and Servia, began to rise against Turkish rule. To suppress the rising in Bulgaria, bloody "Bulgarian atrocities" were perpetrated by the Turks, until the victims were numbered by tens of thousands. The sultan Abdul-Aziz was deposed; then in 1876 his nephew, Abdul-Hamid II., was firmly seated on the throne. When the Turks forced the Montenegrins back into their mountain fastnesses, and compelled the Servians to sue for peace, the Christian Powers felt it necessary to interfere.

576. The Eastern Question (1870–1877)

After long negotiations with the other Powers, Russia declared war alone against Turkey (April, 1877). With a force of 200,000 men the Russians crossed the Danube, and the war soon centered about Plevna, a place of great strategic importance, where Osman Pasha had intrenched himself with 40,000 Turkish troops. After five months' heroic resistance Osman Pasha capitulated (December 10, 1877). Through the snow and ice of the Balkan Mountains the Russians then pressed southward, and soon their outposts were within a hundred miles of Constantinople. The hostile attitude of Great Britain then prevented further advance; but in March, 1878, Turkey signed the

577. Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878)

TURKISH SOLDIER, 1877.

treaty of San Stefano (San Stephano), which, if it had been allowed to stand, would have amounted to the formal dissolution of the Turkish power in Europe.

Great Britain and Austria regarded the treaty as too favorable to Russia, and to prevent a general European war an international congress was called at Berlin, in 1878, under the presidency of Bismarck. The result was a triumph for British diplomacy and a defeat for Russia; new arrangements were made more favorable to Turkey, but less satisfactory to the Christian communities of the Balkan peninsula, than in the treaty of San Stefano. The Russian frontier was extended to the mouth of the Danube; Herzegovina and Bosnia were handed over to Austria to occupy and rule; and Cyprus, by a secret treaty, was "leased" by Turkey to Great Britain as a reward for her friendship. The independent state of Montenegro received an Adriatic seaport. Servia, virtually independent since 1829, was made completely so, with enlarged boundaries. Complete independence was given to Roumania, a country formed in 1861 by the voluntary union of the semi-independent Danube principalities Wallachia and Moldavia. Bulgaria was erected by the congress into a new Christian state, self-governing but tributary to Turkey; its extent was to be less than half that provided in the treaty of San Stefano, but it was increased in 1886 by the annexation of Eastern Roumelia as the result of a successful revolution. Greece, as a result of the congress and subsequent negotiations, secured Thessaly and part of Epirus: a rash war undertaken by her, in 1897, to wrest Crete from Turkey, ended in Turkish victory, and the intervention of the Powers then made Crete an independent Christian principality.

578. Congress of Berlin (1878)

The general result of these arrangements was to leave to Turkey in Europe only the administrative districts of Constantinople, Adrianople, Albania, and Epirus, and the Christian province of Macedonia. The rule of the Turk in Europe was

prolonged, and the Christian populations were left to the oppression of Mohammedan officials and soldiers. That the Eastern Question was not solved was shown by the Armenian massacres under direction of the sultan's officials in 1894–1896, and by more recent unsuccessful attempts at revolution in Macedonia.

After the Russo-Turkish War an "armed peace" characterized the relations of the European Powers. France, passionately desiring a "war of revenge" to recover Alsace and Lorraine, increased her army, navy, and defenses, only to see them outrun by Germany, whose population and wealth were greater. The other Powers were obliged to follow similar courses, until the close of the century saw France with a war strength of 2,500,000 men, Germany and Italy with 3,000,000 each, and Russia with 3,500,000, in addition to powerful navies. Rapid-fire guns, smokeless powder, powerful explosive shells, and repeating rifles of long range increased the power of standing armies; but at the same time the influence of the people, on whom the burden of war falls, became greater in government, and was exerted on the whole in favor of peace.

579. "Armed peace" in Europe

Bismarck's policy was to maintain cordial relations, so far as possible, with both Austria and Russia as a check on France; thus in 1872 he formed the League of the Three Emperors (Russia, Austria, and Germany) for the maintenance of peace on the basis of existing territorial arrangements. After 1878 a new grouping of the Powers took place, Russia turning toward France, and Germany drawing closer to Austria. The establishment of a French protectorate over Tunis (in 1881) brought France and Italy to the verge of war; and the latter, in 1883, entered with Austria and Germany into a Triple Alliance, which has been several times renewed. England's traditional policy was to avoid Continental entanglements; but friction with Russia over the frontiers of India and with France over Egypt led her to look

580. Triple and Dual alliances (1883–1900)

with a friendly eye upon the Triple Alliance. A Franco-Russian Dual Alliance existed at least after 1891, but apparently only for mutual defense against European attacks.

The development of European rivalries abroad after 1878, especially in Africa and the far East, presented new complications fraught with new dangers — first of all in Egypt, the nominal tributary of Turkey. All effective power of the sultan of Turkey over that land had ceased some time before the Russo-Turkish War. After the French gave up Egypt (§§ 443, 448) the governorship soon fell into the hands of Mehemet Ali (1811–1848), an able and energetic ruler who in two wars with the sultan secured practical independence and an hereditary transmission of his power. His grandson, Ismail (1863–1879), extended Egyptian rule to the upper Nile, aided the building of the Suez Canal, and procured from the sultan the title "Khedive," with more independent powers; but his extravagance plunged Egypt into bankruptcy. The sale of his shares in the Suez Canal to the British government (1875) gave to it a controlling interest in that important waterway. To protect the financial interests of their subjects, Great Britain and France finally intervened to depose Ismail and place on the throne his son, Tewfik (1879–1892), the administration of the finances being intrusted to two comptrollers-general of their own appointment.

581. Egypt (1801–1882)

In 1882 a revolt against foreign influence broke out under a military agitator named Arabi, and a massacre of Europeans took place at Alexandria. European intervention again became necessary; and when France (to her subsequent regret) refused coöperation, Great Britain acted alone. Alexandria was bombarded by her fleet, and a British army under Wolseley defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir (40 miles north of Cairo). Egypt has since been under British occupation, though the khedive reigns, and the administration is mainly in native hands. The country has greatly prospered:

582. British occupation of Egypt (1882)

immense irrigation works have been completed to store and distribute the Nile floods; justice has been bettered, and the condition of the peasants improved.

The Egyptian province of the Sudan, on the upper Nile, was lost (1881–1885) through a revolt headed by a Mohammedan fanatic styled the "Mahdi," or Prophet; the last Egyptian stronghold there fell in 1885, when Khartum was taken, and the Anglo-Egyptian general, Gordon, was murdered. This disaster forced the British government to action; and after ten years spent in preliminary organization, the Anglo-Egyptian troops under Kitchener began their advance. To reach the seat of trouble a railroad was built, in one place for two hundred and thirty miles across the desert; and in 1898 the Mahdists were crushed at Omdurman (near Khartum), and the upper Nile was reoccupied. The railroad was afterwards completed to Khartum, a distance of twelve hundred miles from Cairo, and order and security were restored.

Following the British occupation of Egypt came the partition of other parts of Africa among European powers. Until about 1860, Africa remained "the Dark Continent." In the first half of the nineteenth century began the labors of the scientific and missionary explorers of the interior, of whom the greatest were the Englishman Dr. David Livingstone, who died in Africa in 1873, and the Anglo-American Henry M. Stanley, whose explorations in 1877 revealed to the world the vast waterway of the Kongo, leading into the heart of Africa. The Belgian king, Leopold II., founded an International Association in 1876 to explore Africa and put an end to the horrors perpetrated by the bands of Arab slave catchers in the interior; and he was the first to see the value of Stanley's discovery.

583. Partition of Africa

Under King Leopold's patronage, Stanley in 1879 led an expedition from the west coast up the Kongo River, which for the first time opened up vast expanses of

584. Kongo State (1883)

the interior, and laid in the heart of equatorial Africa the foundations of the Kongo Free State, organized in 1883. In 1884 Germany suddenly seized Togoland and Kamerun, which lie upon the west coast, and this precipitated a wild scramble for African territory. To settle conflicts and lay down principles on which future annexations should be valid, a conference was held at Berlin in the winter of 1884–1885. The chief result was the recognition of the Kongo Free State as a sovereign state, under the headship of King Leopold; but it has practically been transformed into a Belgian colony. A railroad was built around the rapids in the lower course of the river; and above them steam navigation was established for a thousand miles, without counting the numerous tributaries of the Kongo. The slave trade, as formerly carried on, was abolished; and an enormous commerce in rubber, founded on forced labor (often exacted with great cruelty), was built up. The extensive plantations, however, are mostly the personal property of King Leopold.

585. European possessions in Africa (1900)

The British possessions in Africa (including Egypt and the former Boer republics) are most extensive and valuable. The development of South Africa was largely due to Cecil Rhodes, whose dream it was to establish a "Cape to Cairo" railway, intended to unite the greater part of eastern Africa in one territorial mass under English rule; the road will doubtless be completed, but it must pass in part through German East Africa. The French possessions, starting from Algeria, stretch out over a vast extent of the Sahara and the Sudan, and include a considerable territory on the right bank of the Kongo River. Tunis (since 1881) and the island of Madagascar (since 1889) are French protectorates. The Portuguese retain considerable possessions on both the east and west coasts, but bad government makes them of little profit. The Spanish possessions are few and small. Italy, emulating the other states, established colonies on the

AFRICA ABOUT 1900.

Morocco, Liberia, and Abyssinia were independent states. The rest of Africa was divided into possessions and protectorates of other powers, as follows: (1) Great Britain — all the areas colored red on the map, including Cape of Good Hope, Rhodesia, etc; (2) France — all the areas colored purple, including Algeria, Tunis, etc.; (3) Germany — all the African areas colored yellow; (4) Portugal — Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Portuguese East Africa; (5) Italy — Eritrea and Italian Somaliland; (6) Belgium (§ 584) — Kongo State; (7) Spain — Rio de Oro; (8) Turkey — Tripoli. Egypt was claimed as a tributary state by Turkey, but it was practically under the control of Great Britain.

Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; but these lands are barren, and her experience has been disastrous. Tripoli remains nominally under Turkish rule; Abyssinia continues independent; Morocco is self-governing, but threatened by France's claim to a "paramount" influence, to which Germany opposes a demand for joint control by all the Powers. Throughout Africa railways, telegraph lines, and European commerce are making rapid progress.

586. Concert of the Powers, and the Hague Conference (1884–1899)

Dating from the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, we may note a revival of the Concert of the Powers (§ 575), *i.e.* the practice of the Great Powers (Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, and lately the United States) acting together in all important international concerns. Their action is not usually registered in public treaties; none the less, through their joint understandings, embodied in diplomatic notes and other communications, they have in recent years largely ruled Europe, and regulated European interests in Africa and Asia.

In 1899 a further step was taken when the czar of Russia issued a call for a conference at the Hague to consider "the terrible and increasing burden of European armaments," and the possibility of settling international disputes by arbitration instead of by war. Besides the delegates of the European Powers there were present representatives from the United States, Mexico, China, Japan, Persia, and even Siam. The proposal for a general disarmament was found impracticable; but a permanent international court of arbitration was formed, of which the principles and procedure were laid down. The new court was made a living reality by the submission to it, in the first few years of its existence, of two troublesome cases concerning Spanish America. Should it, by substituting the appeal to reason for the appeal to force, remove only a fraction of the occasions for war which arise, its creation will stand as a marked event in recent history.

(B) Internal History of the Chief Continental States

The internal history of the several European states must now be briefly sketched, beginning with that of France. The government under Thiers, which made peace with Germany in 1871, was only provisional, and for five years the future form of the French constitution was not fixed. A majority of voters wished to maintain the Republic; but the National Assembly was monarchist, had been elected without limit of term, and there was no legal method of compelling it to lay down its power. Thiers was a constitutional monarchist, but loyally upheld the Republic as "the system that divides us least." Under his rule, France recovered rapidly from her disasters; the war indemnity was paid; and in September, 1873, the last German soldiers withdrew.

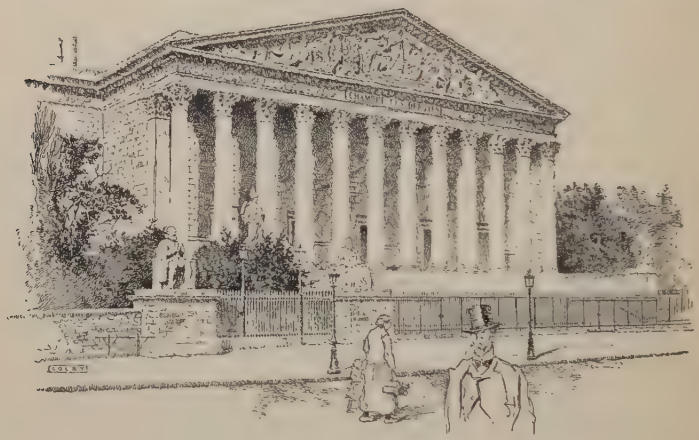
587. Establishing the French Republic (1871–1874)

In May, 1873, Thiers was forced to resign and was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, who was elected president with the express purpose of restoring monarchy. Of the three monarchical parties (Imperialists, Legitimists, and Orleanists), the Imperialists were so weak that they could be neglected; the two others came to an agreement by which the National Assembly was to recognize as king the head of the "legitimate," or elder branch of the Bourbons (the Count of Chambord, known as "Henry V."), while the Count of Paris as head of the Orleans branch was recognized as his successor. At the last moment the restoration failed, because the Count of Chambord declared that he would restore the white flag of the Bourbons, while the Orleanists insisted on the tricolor with which so many patriotic memories were intertwined.

The Assembly, in 1875, then passed a group of "organic laws," which are the basis of the present French constitution. The legislature consists of a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage every four years, and a Senate elected by secondary electoral bodies for nine years.

588. French constitution of 1875

The two chambers voting together elect the president of the republic, whose term is seven years. The president's position is similar to that of a constitutional king: he can perform no executive act except through responsible ministers; but he has the power (with the coöperation of the Senate) of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies and appealing to the country in a new election. In practice the Chamber of Deputies, like the British House of Commons, is the more powerful body of the



FAÇADE OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS.
Erected 1804–1807.

two, making and unmaking ministries by its votes, and even compelling the president to resign. The social organization created by the first Revolution was preserved, together with the administrative system of the first Napoleon; and to these was now added a political constitution based on the sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, and liberty of the press.

589. Party struggles in France (after 1875)

For a score of years after 1875 the monarchists looked upon the republic as provisional, and worked for its overthrow. MacMahon resigned in 1879, and was succeeded by Jules Grévy, a radical republican, who served till 1887.

He was succeeded by Sadi Carnot, who was assassinated by an anarchist in 1894. Next came Casimir Périer, who resigned the next year; he was followed by Félix Faure, who died in office in 1899; and Faure was succeeded by Émile Loubet, seventh in the list.

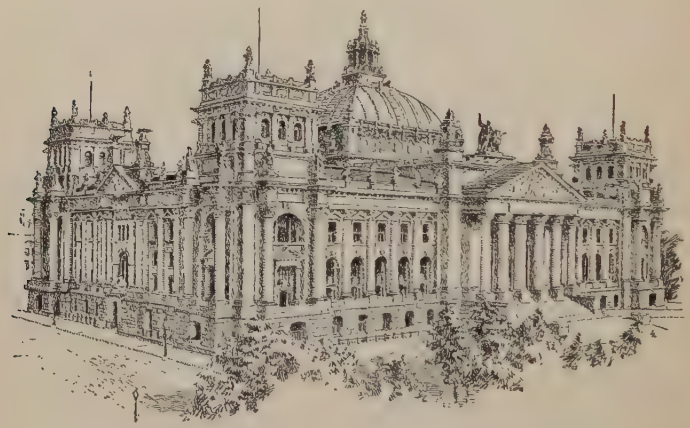
A portion of the Catholic party (which had agitated for a restoration of monarchy in France and of the Pope's sovereignty at Rome) through the influence of Pope Leo XIII., "rallied" to the support of the Republic in 1892; but to offset this gain, the Socialist party became a political factor again after those who had taken part in the Commune were pardoned (in 1879). By the close of the century, however, policies were controlled by the more conservative sections of each party.

The last fourteen years of the nineteenth century saw three important political "affairs" in France. (1) In 1887–1889 Boulanger, a popular general, attempted unsuccessfully to alter the constitution in the direction of a dictatorship. (2) The "Panama scandal" of 1892–1893, growing out of the bankruptcy of a French company organized to construct a Panama canal, revealed much corruption among journalists and high French officials, and discredited the chiefs of the Republican party. (3) In 1897–1899 political interest centered in the attempts made, especially by the novelist Zola, to show that the condemnation of the Jewish army officer Dreyfus, on the charge of revealing military secrets to Germany, was the result of an anti-Semite army plot: on a retrial of the case much of the evidence was shown to be forged; nevertheless Dreyfus was again condemned, but received a pardon from the president.

590. Germany: the constitution of the Empire (1871)

Under the constitution of the German Empire, completed in April, 1871, the direction of military and political affairs is placed in the king of Prussia as hereditary German Emperor. The legislative power is in the Bundesrath (Federal Council) and Reichstag (Imperial Diet). The Bundesrath represents the individual states of the em-

pire, but (unlike our Senate) unequally: Prussia, which contains three fifths of the population of Germany, has 17 votes out of a total of 58; Bavaria has 6, Saxony and Württemberg 4 each, and the other states less (p. 547). The members of the Bundesrath are appointed by and are responsible to their respective governments. In the Reichstag, Prussia has 236 members out of a total of 397; the members are elected by manhood suffrage for a term of five years, but with the consent of the Bundesrath the emperor may



Reichstag (Parliament) Building, Berlin.

dissolve the Reichstag and order new elections. Unlike the ministers of true parliamentary governments, the German ministers, headed by the imperial chancellor, are regarded as the servants, not of the legislative chamber elected by the people, but of the emperor, who may appoint and remove them at pleasure.

591. The Kulturkampf (1871–1890)

From 1871 until 1890 the post of imperial chancellor and chief Prussian minister was held by Bismarck. In the first half of this period occurred the "Kulturkampf," a conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the

Prussian government over the control of education and ecclesiastical appointments. Similar conflicts occurred in Bavaria, Austria, Switzerland, France, and Belgium; they were occasioned in part by the action of the church Council of the Vatican, in 1870, which proclaimed as a dogma of the church the infallibility of the Pope in the definition of doctrines concerning the faith and morals. Bismarck expressed his confidence of victory in the sentence, "We shall not go to Canossa;" and laws were passed to expel the Jesuits and other orders, and to transform the bishops and priests into state officials. A powerful "Center," or Catholic party, was formed to combat these measures in the Reichstag; Bismarck at length wearied of the contest, and after the accession of Pope Leo XIII. (1878–1903) the obnoxious laws were gradually repealed.

Other important features of Bismarck's administration were the passage of laws directed against the Socialists, who were beginning to show marked strength in Germany; and the enactment of a series of measures (designed to draw off the working classes from socialism) which provided for pensions under government control to laborers disabled by accident, sickness, or old age. The laws against the Socialists failed of their object; the measures to aid the working classes have had much success.

592. Working-class legislation

In March, 1888, the emperor William I. died, at the age of ninety-one, and was succeeded by his son Frederick; the latter, however, was suffering from a mortal disease, and lived only until June, 1888, when his son, William II., ascended the throne. William II. soon showed great energy and self-confidence, a high sense of the imperial office, and a capacity for astonishing the world by feats of brilliancy. He wished to take a larger personal part in the administration than his predecessors, while Bismarck insisted on the observance of the practice under which ministers of departments communicated with the emperor only through the chancellor.

593. Accession of William II. (1888)

Bismarck was unexpectedly dismissed in 1890, and passed into restless retirement on his country estates, where he died in 1899. Under William II. a vigorous foreign policy was pursued, with many royal journeys and visits to neighboring monarchs; the army was fostered and a powerful navy founded; and measures were promoted for the improvement of the working classes. But the greatest feature of his reign was the rapid industrial progress of Germany, due to the patient application and thorough scientific training which characterize the German people. The Social Democratic party, in spite of the emperor's opposition to it, grew steadily, till in 1903 its members cast thirty-two per cent of the total vote in the German Empire.

William II.

Spain in the last third of the nineteenth century was long weakened by party struggles. After the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidate (§ 537), a younger son of Victor Emmanuel of Italy accepted the crown as Amadeus I. (January, 1871); but at the end of two years he resigned the throne in disgust, and a republic was proclaimed. Wars with the Carlists, and with those who wished a federative instead of a consolidated republic, so distracted and weakened the country that in 1875 the monarchy was restored in the person of Alfonso XII., son of the exiled Queen Isabella (§ 537). A constitution with representative government and a legislature of two houses was adopted in 1876, and in 1890

594. Spain after 1870

manhood suffrage was added. Alfonso XII., who was an intelligent and active prince, died in December, 1885, at the age of twenty-eight. His posthumous son, Alfonso XIII. (born early in 1886), succeeded him, but the actual government was in the hands of his mother as regent until 1902. The power of the monarchy rested mainly on the army, which was over-officered, inefficient, and a great drain on Spanish finances. Railways and industry made rapid strides, but mainly through foreign enterprise. The mass of the population, though sound and honest, remained ignorant, idle, and religiously intolerant: in 1889, sixty-eight per cent could neither read nor write, and fifty-three per cent were without occupation.

595. Spanish-American War (1898)

The remnants of Spain's once mighty colonial empire were a source of weakness rather than of strength to her, and the cruelty with which an insurrection was being put down in Cuba in 1898 led, through American intervention, to war with the United States. Admiral Dewey at Manila, and Admirals Sampson and Schley at Santiago, crushed the Spanish fleets; and Spain was forced to sue for peace. The terms agreed upon at Paris, in 1898, included the relinquishment of Cuba (which shortly became an independent republic) and the cession of Porto Rico and the whole archipelago of the Philippines to the United States. The acquisition of the latter, whatever may be its final destiny, brought the United States more directly into far Eastern questions, and enhanced her importance in "world politics"—an importance increased by the successful "American invasion" of many European fields of industry.

596. Italy (1871–1900)

For ten years after the complete unification of Italy (§ 546), resulting questions of debt and institutional development occupied the government. Then came fifteen years (1881–1896) in which fall the ministries of Crispi, devoted to the development of railroads and public works, and to attempts to secure external prestige through increase of army and navy,

colonial ventures, and the Triple Alliance. Since 1896 the crushing burden of public debt has led to soberer policies. The problem of "making Italians" out of citizens of the former states was hampered by widespread political indifference and ignorance. The percentage of adult male illiterates decreased in twenty years (following 1861) from sixty-five per cent to fifty-three per cent, and has since continued to decline. King Humbert I. (1878–1900) was assassinated by an anarchist, and his son, Victor Emmanuel II., then came to the throne.

597. Austria-Hungary (1867–1900)

The dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, after its creation in 1867 (§ 535), remained politically in "unstable equilibrium." Austria and Hungary had each a separate constitution, parliament, and administration; but had the same sovereign, the same ministers for war, finance, and foreign affairs, and sent the same number of persons (sixty) to a joint council for the whole realm (the "Delegations"). In Austria, German was the official language; in Hungary, Magyar; but in each kingdom there were a number of other peoples with separate national tongues and national aspirations, and the "language question" threatened each with disruption; in Austria, the oath of office at the opening of the Reichsrath (Parliament) was administered in eight different tongues. Except a few outlying districts, Austria had lost her Italian possessions, and looked for territorial gains to the Balkan peninsula.

598. Internal history of Russia (1855–1900)

The czar Alexander II. (1855–1881) converted Russia into a modern state by emancipating (against the passive resistance of the nobles) its 23,000,000 serfs; but the scanty lands which they received were charged with heavy annual payments to indemnify their former masters. Disappointed at the failure to obtain a political constitution from Alexander II., an opposition arose, principally among young university students, which gradually became revolutionary. To a policy of arbitrary arrests, imprisonment in foul dungeons, and transportation to Siberia, the secret

societies ("Nihilists") replied by a policy of terror based on assassination. In March, 1881, the czar himself was assassinated by the hurling of a nitroglycerine bomb against his carriage. That very day he had signed a "ukase," or decree, which would have laid the foundations of constitutional government by establishing a consultative assembly. His son, Alexander III. (1881–1894), revoked this decree; and during the whole of his reign, and the first ten years of that of his son Nicholas II., a reactionary policy prevailed in which exile to Siberia was freely used to check liberal opinions.

599. Russian expansion in Asia (1554–1895)

The chief episode, however, of the history of Russia in the latter part of the nineteenth century was its systematic advance in Asia. Seven great wars, from the time of Peter the Great to the Congress of Berlin (1711–1878), brought in Europe only meager results: a frontage on the Baltic and Black seas was acquired, but the outlets of these waters remained under the control of other powers. Russia then turned from European projects to Asia, where her policy was twofold: (1) an advance to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, causing numerous wars and treaties with Persia, Afghanistan, and Great Britain; and (2) an advance to the Pacific, through Siberian colonization, the Trans-Siberian railway, and intervention in China and Korea (see map, pp. 600, 601).

Russia's southward expansion in Asia began as early as 1554, when a foothold was gained on the Caspian Sea about the lower Volga River. By 1803 Georgia (in the Caucasus Mountains) was annexed, and the way along the west side of the Caspian secured. By 1828 the beginning was made of an ascendency in Persia, which has since been strengthened by diplomacy, financial loans, and railway building.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the vast plains of Turkestan were reached, and a design of conquering India was resumed. Khiva finally submitted in 1873; Bokhara was forced to recognize a Russian protectorate in 1868; Merv

(against an express promise made by Russia to the British government three years before) was acquired in 1884; and half of the Pamir plateau — the "roof of the world," which commands the ramparts of India — was secured in 1893. The threat to British India is serious, for the Russian frontier and railway terminal at Kushk are but seventy-five miles from Herat, long regarded as "the key of the Indies."

600. Siberia and the Pacific (1584–1902)

The Russian colonization of Siberia, like the settlement of the western parts of the United States, has been really a natural expansion. "To become a colonist, there is no ocean to cross, no steamboat fare to pay. The poorest peasant, a staff in his hand, an ax at his belt, his boots slung from a cord over his shoulder, can pass from one halting place to another, until he reaches the ends of the empire." To the early brigands, and later gold hunters, trappers, fur traders, and fugitive serfs, were added transported criminals (political and others). A treaty with China in 1689 fixed the boundaries of the two lands till 1858, when Russia extorted the cession of northern Manchuria and the whole left bank of the Amur River; maritime Manchuria (including Vladivostok) was acquired in 1860. In 1895–1902 the Russian government constructed the Trans-Siberian railway, nearly 5000 miles long. Wholly apart from its military value, it is estimated that in the commerce of the world this road "will work as important a revolution as did the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in the fifteenth century, or the construction of the Suez Canal in the nineteenth."

Rambaud, in International Monthly, II. 359.

Rambaud (as above), p. 361

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601. Summary

In spite of the Russo-Turkish war (1877–1878) and minor conflicts in the Balkan lands, Europe as a whole experienced an uneasy sort of a peace after 1871, partly due to the Triple and Dual alliances. Out of the dangers of national rivalries came a new Concert of the Powers, most strikingly shown in the establishing of the Hague international court of

arbitration. The scope of international politics was widened by the growth of colonies, by the partition of Africa, by the expansion of Europe in Asia and of the United States in the Pacific. The rule of the Turkish sultan in Europe was saved from overthrow by the jealousies of the Powers. Internally the states of Europe progressed: France, after prolonged struggles, firmly established a parliamentary republic; Germany organized a federal empire dominated by the Prussian king; Italy partly solved the problems connected with her unification; Austria and Hungary maintained their unstable connection; Spain, deprived of its colonies, began to revive. Especially did science, invention, industry, and commerce progress in this period with unparalleled rapidity.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why did Russia go to war with Turkey in 1877? (2) Which was better for the peace of Europe, the treaty of San Stefano or the arrangements made by the Congress of Berlin? (3) What territorial changes have since been made in the Balkan lands? (4) What effects do the great armaments of European states have upon their populations? (5) Which state has derived the greatest advantage from the Triple Alliance? From the Dual Alliance? (6) Was Great Britain justified in intervening alone in Egypt? (7) Why did not France act with her in 1882? (8) Are the British justified in remaining indefinitely in occupation of Egypt? (9) Why did the partition of Africa come when it did? (10) Of what value to European powers are their African possessions? (11) Of what value to Africa is European colonization? (12) Why did not the European powers agree to disarmament at the Hague Conference? (13) Why was the Third French Republic so insecure during its early years? (14) What enabled it to outlive this insecurity? (15) What incidents illustrate the saying that the Bourbons "learn nothing and forget nothing"? (16) Compare the government of the French Republic with that of the United States. (17) Compare the government of Germany with that of the United States. (18) What arguments can be advanced for the German laws favoring the working classes? (19) What arguments can be advanced against them? (20) Was the emperor William II. justified in dismissing Bismarck

from office? (21) Was Crispi's policy for Italy wise or unwise? (22) Why is Austria less important in the world's history now than formerly? (23) Did Russia make better or worse provision for her emancipated serfs than the United States for our emancipated slaves? (24) Why are the Russians better fitted to rule the interior of Asia than other powers? (25) What event in United States history parallels the building of the Trans-Siberian railway?

Search topics

(26) Incidents of the Russo-Turkish War. (27) The Congress of Berlin. (28) The war between Servia and Bulgaria in 1885. (29) Insurrection and intervention of the Powers in Crete, 1896. (30) The Triple Alliance. (31) The Greco-Turkish War of 1897. (32) The British in Egypt. (33) Dr. Livingstone. (34) Stanley's explorations. (35) Partition of Africa. (36) Kongo Free State. (37) The Hague Peace Conference of 1899. (38) Organization and workings of the Hague tribunal. (39) The French "Panama Scandal." (40) The "Dreyfus Affair." (41) The "Kulturkampf" in Germany. (42) Dismissal of Bismarck. (43) Character of Emperor William II. (44) Spain since 1871. (45) Crispi. (46) Political parties in Austria-Hungary. (47) Emancipation of the serfs. (48) The Trans-Siberian railway.

REFERENCES

Geography

See maps, pp. 576, 578, 585, 600; Poole, *Historical Atlas*, maps xiv. lxxxix. xc.; Gardiner, *School Atlas*, maps 63, 65, 66; Putzger, *Atlas*, map 38; Dow, *Atlas*, xxix. xxx. xxxii.

Secondary authorities

Judson, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. xvi. xvii. xxv. xxx.; Phillips, *Modern Europe*, chs. xix.–xx.; Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 468–476, 493–576, 611–652; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe* (Popular ed.), ch. xxv.; Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, chs. vii. xvi. xxviii.; Lebon, *Modern France*, chs. xiv.–xv.; Spencer Walpole, *The History of Twenty-five Years*; Wilson, *The State*; Lowell, *Governments and Parties of Modern Europe*; Johnston, *Colonization of Africa*, chs. xi. xii.; Stanley (and others), *Africa: Its Partition and its Future*; Villari, *The Balkan Question*; Reinsch, *World Politics*; Wallace, *The Progress of the Century*. Consult also the magazines, using Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, and *Supplement*, under the different topics.

Sources

Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, nos. 130–137; *The Annual Register*; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*; annual almanacs published by the *New York World*, *New York Tribune*, etc.

Pictures

Harper's Weekly; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*; *London Illustrated News*; *London Graphic*, etc.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AWAKENING OF THE EAST, AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The far East is now, and is likely for some time to remain, the chief storm center of world politics, taking the place occupied in the nineteenth century by Turkey and the nearer East. Until about 1840, the history of this part of the world ran in a separate channel from that of Europe. Hordes of Asiatics — Huns in the fifth century, Bulgarians in the seventh, Magyars in the tenth, and Turks later — invaded Europe; and Jenghiz Khan (died 1227) and his successors established a Mongol empire which stretched from Poland to the Pacific Ocean, and held Russia in subjection from 1241 to 1480. Now, however, the tide of invasion is turned the other way, and Europe is transforming Asia.

602. Mongols and Chinese (1200–1840)

China is one of the most ancient and highly civilized countries of the world; its great religious teacher, Confucius, flourished five hundred years before Christ. The Mongol rule, established by Jenghiz Khan, lasted until 1368; then for three hundred years China was ruled by emperors of the Ming dynasty. In 1644 the Manchu Tartars overthrew the Ming dynasty and seized the throne; the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1865) was an unsuccessful movement for the restoration of native rule. After the accession of the Ming dynasty, China shut her doors to other nations; and although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some commerce was established with Europeans, it remained on an uncertain basis.

The first effective breach in the barrier with which China

ASIA IN 1905
Russian Territory
States subject to Russia
French Territory
British Territory
States under British Protectorate
Railroads
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
ASIATIC RUSSIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARMENIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN
AFRICA
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
EASTERN
Vienna
Warsaw
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Odessa
Volga R.
Ural R.
Tobolsk
Omsk
Akmolinsk
Constantinople
Caucasus Mts.
Tiflis
Baku
Aral Sea
L. Balkash
Russian boundary in 1801
Khiva
Krasnovodsk
Tashkend
Khokan
Bokhara
Samarkand
Merv
Tabriz
Teheran
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Mediterranean Sea
Cyprus
Persian Gulf
Muscat
Herat
Kabul
Kushk
Delhi
Lucknow
Allahabad
Bombay
Aden
Gulf of Aden
SOKOTRA I.
Longitude
20
40
50
60
70
80
30
20
15
50
60
70

100
110
120
130
140
150
Lena R.
Stanovoi Range
Russian boundary in 1901
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIN
KURIL IS.
E M P I R E
Khabarovsk
Amur R.
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
SEA OF JAPAN
Tie Dass
Mukden
Liao-yang
Tokio
Yokohama
Desert of Gobi
Peking
Tientsin
Pechili
G. of
Weihaiwei
Port Arthur
Seoul
Nagasaki
Hoang R.
Kiauchau (Ger.)
YELLOW SEA
EAST CHINA SEA
Shanghai
Hankau
Yangtse R.
FORMOSA
Canton
Hongkong
Kwang-chau-wan (Fr.)
TONKIN
HAINAN
Gulf of Tonkin
Mandalay
BURMA
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Rangoon
SIAM
Bangkok
Saigon
Gulf of Siam
Sulu Sea
ANDAMAN IS.
COCHIN CHINA
Malay Peninsula
NICOBARS
BORNEO
CELEBES
CELEBES SEA
MOLUCCA IS.
90
from Greenwich
100
110
120
30
20
15

surrounded herself was made by the unjust "Opium War" waged by Great Britain, in 1840–1842, to compel the admission of opium from India. By the treaty which ended that war, Canton, Shanghai, and some other ports were opened to British trade, and the island of Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain. Commercial treaties with the United States and France followed in 1844. In 1857–1860 the British in alliance with the French waged a second war upon China, and Peking was taken; this secured the toleration of Christianity and the admission of resident ambassadors to the Chinese capital.

603. Opening up of China (1840–1884)

New troubles for China developed in the south, where the French established themselves. In 1862, to avenge the murder of French missionaries, they seized Saigon, in the kingdom of Anam (over which China claimed suzerainty), and set up the French colony of Cochin China. In 1884 France annexed Tonkin, and forced China to sign a treaty opening up the three neighboring provinces to European trade.

Equally important with the opening up of China was the awakening of Japan. The emperor of Japan (sometimes called Mikado) had gradually lost much of his power to the Shogun (hereditary commander of the army), and a sort of feudal system had arisen in which local authority was vested in lords called *daimios*, who were practically vassals of the Shogun; while the emperor was reduced to a part similar to that of the *fainéant* ("do-nothing") kings of France in the time of the mayors of the palace (§ 14). Christianity was introduced in the sixteenth century, but its followers were suspected of political aims, and in 1637 it was prohibited; at the same time natives were forbidden to leave the country under penalty of death, and for two centuries thereafter Japan, like China and Korea, was practically a "hermit nation."

604. Closing of Japan (1637)

The credit of opening Japan to Western commerce and ideas belongs to Commodore Perry, of the United States navy, who

in 1854 induced the Shogun to conclude a treaty opening up Yokohama and two other ports to trade. Great Britain, Russia, and France quickly followed with similar treaties. For a time there was trouble, growing out of Japanese conservatism and hatred of foreigners, but this speedily died down. In 1867 the progressive emperor Mutsuhito came to the throne, and soon after the Shogun was overthrown, and the feudal system entirely suppressed. Swarms of Japanese students were sent to Europe and America for education, and showed a remarkable power to assimilate Western culture in all its branches. Under their influence Japan was revolutionized in its government, its industry, and its educational and military systems. A constitution was proclaimed in 1889 by which the administration was placed in a cabinet of ministers responsible to the emperor, and the legislative power was vested in an Imperial Diet of two houses.

605. Awakening of Japan (1854–1895)

JAPANESE SOLDIER.

The first test of Japan's new military institutions came in 1894, when war broke out with China through rival pretensions over the kingdom of Korea. The Japanese navy, built in the best shipyards of Europe, speedily sank the Chinese fleet; and the Japanese army, drilled and equipped in European fashion, was completely victorious over the antiquated forces of China. All Korea was occupied; Port Arthur and Weihaiwei, on opposite sides of the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili, were captured; and Peking itself was threatened. China then (April, 1895), through Li Hung Chang, the great viceroy and diplomat, made peace, renouncing its claims over Korea, paying an indemnity, opening new treaty ports, and ceding to Japan Port Arthur and the island of Formosa.

606. War between Japan and China (1894–1895)

This treaty was too favorable to Japan to suit the European Powers which had their own designs upon Chinese possessions. Russia, France, and Germany joined in forcing Japan to give up her conquests on the mainland, and to content herself with Formosa and an increased indemnity. Then Germany, to obtain "satisfaction" for the murder of German missionaries, seized the port of Kiauchau, in 1897, and forced its lease from China as a coaling and naval station for ninety-nine years, with the grant to German subjects of a first right to construct railroads, open mines, etc., in the adjoining province of Shantung. Early in 1898 Russia similarly secured Port Arthur by lease for twenty-five years, thus obtaining a port on the Pacific which was free from ice the year round; she also received a concession to build a railroad from Port Arthur to join the Trans-Siberian railway, thus giving her a pretext to treat Chinese Manchuria as practically Russian territory. To restore a balance of power in the Gulf of Pechili, Great Britain leased Weihaiwei; she also secured a grant of about two hundred square miles on the mainland opposite Hongkong. France seized a port (Kwang-chau-wan), in 1898, and extorted concessions for the development of the southern provinces.

607. European Powers in China (1895–1900)

One result of the war between China and Japan was the awakening of the Chinese from their sleep of centuries, and the adoption of many of the material improvements of the West. Concessions to foreigners multiplied rapidly after that war. A railroad from Peking to Tientsin was built by the government, and arrangements were made for the construction with foreign capital of other lines thousands of miles in length. Telegraph lines were extended; electric roads, electric lights, and telephones were introduced in the chief cities; and the principal rivers and canals were opened to Western commerce.

The young emperor (Tsait'ien) seemed to favor the introduction of Western ways. His aunt, the empress dowager,

opposed this, and in 1898, by a *coup d'état*, she resumed the power she had exercised during the emperor's minority. In 1900 occurred a widespread rising against foreigners, headed by the "Boxers," one of the many Chinese secret societies. Christian missionaries and their converts were massacred, and the foreign embassies in Peking were besieged. To rescue them, a joint army was formed by the Great Powers of Europe, together with Japan and the United States, which fought its way to Peking and released the legations. The empress dowager was forced to make peace, with abject apologies, and to pay large money indemnities.

608. Boxer War in China (1900)

JAPANESE BATTERY AT THE BATTLE OF LIAO-YANG.

At the time of the Boxer troubles, Russia took possession of Chinese Manchuria, under pretext of safeguarding her railroad and other interests there, promising to evacuate it when peace should be restored. Failure so to do led to long negotiations; then came a solemn agreement (1902) to evacuate, which was broken in 1903. Instead, the Russian hold was strengthened, and a disposition was shown also to

609. Russo-Japanese War begun (1904)

bring Korea under Russian control. Such an extension of Russian power menaced Japanese prosperity and independence; and after the failure of long diplomatic negotiations Japan resorted to war.

610. Fall of Port Arthur (Jan. 1, 1905)

On February 8, 1904, the Japanese surprised the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, torpedoing two battleships and two cruisers; and the blockade of Port Arthur "bottled up" the rest in that harbor. These exploits gave the Japanese the command of the sea — an advantage which they thenceforth retained. Korea was occupied, and the Russians driven from the Yalu River. By May 28 the Japanese lines had been drawn across the Liao-tong peninsula, cutting off Port Arthur on the land side; and there followed a seven months' siege of that fortress, terminated on January 1, 1905, by its capitulation.

611. The Mukden campaign

Meanwhile Kuropatkin, the Russian commander, was disastrously defeated at Liao-Yang in September, and forced to fall back upon Mukden; and a great Russian attack in October was repulsed. The winter was passed by both armies intrenched amid snow and ice, amid conditions of great suffering, especially for the Russians, for whose supply the single-track line of the Trans-Siberian railway proved inadequate. The arrival in the Japanese camp of the Port Arthur army, with its heavy siege guns, enabled the Japanese general, Oyama, after fifteen days' severe fighting, to drive Kuropatkin from Mukden (March 10, 1905), the Russian losses in killed, wounded, and captured numbering more than one hundred thousand. Their broken and disorganized army was then forced back toward Harbin, the junction point with the main line of the Trans-Siberian railway. The land campaign of 1905 was thus lost almost before it was begun.

612. Battle of the Sea of Japan, (May, 1905)

A second and a third Russian fleet, meanwhile, under the chief command of Rojestvensky, made the long voyage from the Baltic; but the vessels were ill equipped through corrupt administration, and the crews were mutinous,

demoralized, and ill led. The fleets were annihilated (May 27–29) by the Japanese under Admiral Togo in the battle of the Sea of Japan, one of the greatest naval battles in history: without serious damage to a single Japanese ship, some nineteen vessels of the enemy were sunk or captured. Russia's naval power was thereby destroyed, and her cause was rendered hopeless. Soon after, the Japanese reoccupied the island of Sakhalin, from which Russia had driven them in 1875, and began to close in upon Vladivostok.

613. Results of the war

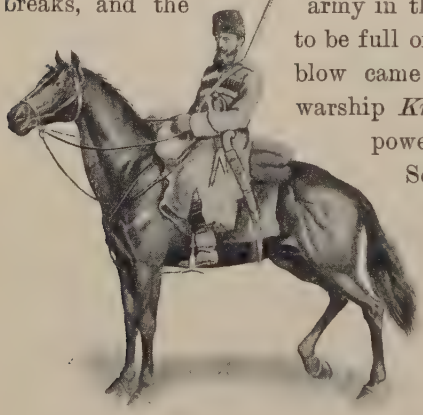
The efforts of President Roosevelt brought about a meeting of representatives of the two powers at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August, 1905, to discuss terms of peace. Russia agreed to surrender Chinese Manchuria and the Port Arthur railway to China, to cede its leases of the Liao-tong peninsula to Japan, to recognize the preponderance of Japan in Korea, and to grant to Japanese citizens special fishery rights on the Siberian coast. The further demands of Japan for the cession of Sakhalin Island and for the payment of an indemnity to reimburse her for the cost of the war threatened to break up the conference; but the energetic appeals of President Roosevelt to the two powers finally brought about a compromise on these points. Japan abandoned the claim for indemnity, but gained half of Sakhalin and all the points for which she had undertaken the war.

The Russo-Japanese War was an event of very great importance not only for the powers immediately concerned, but for China, America, and the whole world: it involved the future fate of China and the control of the Pacific, questions of vital importance to America and Australia, as well as Asia and Europe. The unexpected ability displayed by the Japanese insures for the "yellow peoples" of Asia the prospect of an independent future, parallel with that of the white races. It may prove that the recent development of China and Japan is of more importance in the world's history than any events

which have occurred since Greece saved Europe from Persian conquest, more than two thousand years ago.

614. Russia in revolution (1905)

The war revealed glaringly the corruption and incompetence of the autocratic rule in Russia, and caused a marked revival of revolutionary movements. In the early months of 1905, widespread industrial and political disturbances broke out, involving even stolid peasants, and leading to political assassinations and to bloody repression by Cossack soldiers, especially at St. Petersburg, Odessa, and in many towns of Poland. The forced mobilization of new troops led to frequent outbreaks, and the army in the far East was reported to be full of disaffection. A serious blow came when the crew of the warship *Kniaz Potemkine*, the most powerful vessel of the Black Sea fleet, mutinied, slew their officers, and for twelve days terrorized Odessa and other ports, while the crews of other war vessels refused to fire a shot against their comrades. Under promise of protection, the mutineers (July 8) surrendered their vessel to the Roumanian government, which turned it over to Russia.



Cossack.

The widespread disaffection and the outspoken demand of the educated classes forced the government to adopt a policy of conciliation. The separate constitution of the grand duchy of Finland, which had been practically annulled since 1899, was restored; and the long attempt (since 1863) to force Russian speech upon the Poles was given up. Even the demand of a constitution for Russia received attention, and on March 3,

1905, the czar issued a rescript promising "to convene the worthiest men possessing the confidence of the people and elected by them, to participate in the elaboration and consideration of legislative measures." On August 19, 1905, the long-expected decree appeared, establishing an assembly (*douma*) to meet for the first time in January, 1906, to be composed of representatives elected by the propertied classes, and to have the right of consultation and advice, but without independent authority in the government. Extreme liberals were disappointed at the slight powers conferred; but as the czar's minister of finance said, "To jump from the sixteenth century to the twentieth is not easy, especially with twenty-eight unassimilated and illiterate nationalities within the empire." It is evident that the absolutism of the czars is nearing its end; but the exact nature of the government which will take its place remains undetermined.

615. France in the twentieth century

France, Russia's ally, was deterred from actively aiding Russia in the war by an alliance of England with Japan, which would become effective in case Japan were attacked by more than one power; also troubles with Germany over Morocco (§ 585) tied her hands. In the twentieth century France occupies a place of less political importance than formerly, because of the more rapid development of the rest of Europe. Under Louis XIV. her population was forty per cent of that of the Great Powers of Europe; in 1789 it had fallen to twenty-seven per cent; in 1900 it was barely ten per cent. The practically stationary population of France, due to a low birth rate, is the great cause of her relative weakness.

The most important event in her recent history is the ending of the religious concordat (§ 449) and the separation of church and state. In 1901–1904 "association laws" were passed which closed the greater number of the 16,468 religious (Catholic) establishments, and caused the expulsion of the teaching and preaching orders of clergy. This step was fol-

lowed in 1905 by the passage of a bill providing that after the death of the clergy now receiving pay from the state, all such state aid shall cease; the churches and cathedrals are to belong to the state, but will be leased to the different congregations. Thus the separation of church and state will not be so complete as in the United States, but will be greater than ever before in French history.

616. Separation of Norway and Sweden (1905)

A recent political change of some importance is the separation of Norway from Sweden. In 1814 the two countries were united under the same king (§ 474); but the peoples are dissimilar in many ways, and dissensions shortly sprang up over Norwegian demands for a place of equal importance with Sweden on the seal of state, for a separate flag, and for a Norwegian governor over Norway. These demands, after long resistance, were granted. Then came a demand that the Norwegians be allowed to conduct their own foreign affairs. Finally, in 1905, the Norwegian Storthing (parliament) unanimously passed a bill for a separate consular service; and when King Oscar II. vetoed it, the Storthing declared the union between the two countries dissolved — a step ratified by 368,200 votes against 184 in a plebiscite taken on August 13, 1905. King Oscar, though deeply hurt by the action of his Norwegian subjects, was disposed to let them go in peace, though a more belligerent spirit was shown by some Swedish statesmen. It seems unlikely, however, that the two nations will actually come to blows.

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617. Summary

In Europe, in the twentieth century, Russia took the first steps toward constitutional government; France adopted radical measures in the attempt to solve the relations of church and state; Norway seceded from union with Sweden.

China and Japan, after centuries of hermit seclusion, were opened to Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century. Japan overthrew her feudalism, established a constitutional

monarchy, and rapidly assimilated western civilization, while China remained impotently hostile to the ways of "foreign devils." War between the two nations (1894–1895) showed immeasurable superiority on the part of the Japanese, but Russia, Germany, and France intervened to rob them of the fruits of victory. A seizure of Chinese ports by European powers then threatened the dissolution of the Chinese Empire, and contributed to the Boxer outbreak against Europeans in 1900; but the firm stand of Great Britain and the United States for the policy of the "open door," and the brilliant success of Japan in her great war with Russia (1904–1905), averted the danger. This war seriously impaired Russia's prestige, it established Japan as the dominant power of the far East, and it insured to the "yellow peoples" a position of continued independence of Europe. The events narrated in this chapter mark a great change in the center of world history. Says the French historian Rambaud, "The importance that in ancient times the Mediterranean had for mankind, and which the Atlantic possessed from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, seems to-day to be shifting to the Pacific Ocean"

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What proofs are there that China possessed from ancient days a highly developed civilization? (2) To what class do the Chinese seen in this country usually belong? (3) Were the Western powers justified in forcing China to open her ports to foreigners? (4) Compare the Chinese with the Japanese. (5) How do the Japanese look upon Commodore Perry? (6) How do you account for the rapid development of Japan since 1854? (7) Has the introduction of Western civilization been wholly a blessing for Japan? (8) Did Russia, Germany, and France treat Japan justly after her war with China? (9) Compare the Boxer rising with anti-Chinese movements in this country. (10) Was Japan in the right in going to war with Russia when and in the manner she did? (11) Of what advantage was it to the Japanese to shut up the Russian fleet at Port Arthur? (12) Compare the siege of Port Arthur

with that of Sebastopol in the Crimean War. (13) What reasons can you give for the success of the Japanese? (14) Compare the number of men engaged in Manchuria on each side with the numbers in Napoleon's campaigns, and in our Civil War. (15) Compare the internal conditions in Russia at the close of the war with those in France just before the French Revolution. (16) What motives led to the dissolution of the religious orders in France? (17) Was the secession of Norway from Sweden politically justifiable? Was it expedient?

Search topics

(18) Chinese contributions to civilization. (19) Teachings of Confucius. (20) Chinese "treaty ports." (21) Japanese feudalism. (22) Position of the Shogun. (23) Perry's expedition to Japan. (24) The constitution of Japan. (25) The war between China and Japan. (26) Russian occupation of Port Arthur. (27) Causes of the Russo-Japanese War. (28) The siege of Port Arthur. (29) Incidents of the Mukden campaign. (30) The battle of the Sea of Japan. (31) The negotiations for peace. (32) Effect of the war on Russia. (33) Separation of church and state in France. (34) Secession of Norway from Sweden.

REFERENCES

Year-books

See the annual almanacs issued by the *New York World*, the *New York Tribune*, and other metropolitan newspapers, to be obtained for twenty-five or fifty cents. The following are more elaborate: *The International Year-Book*, *The Annual Register*, *The Politician's Handbook*, *The Statesman's Year-Book*.

Periodicals

Consult especially *The Review of Reviews*, *The Outlook*, *Public Opinion*, etc. See *Annual Literary Index*, and similar publications, for guide to special articles on various topics in the general magazines.

Special works

P. E. Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East: Siberia, Japan, China*; Colquhoun, *Awakening of China*; Weale, *Manchu and Muscovite*; Hearn, *An Interpretation of Modern Japan*; Okakura-Kakuyo, *The Awakening of Japan*; A. M. Knapp, *Feudal and Modern Japan*; Schierbrand, *Russia, her Strength and her Weakness*; Rambaud, *The Expansion of Russia*; Shoemaker, *The Great Siberian Railway*; S. W. Perris, *Russia in Revolution*; Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*; T. Cowen, *The Russo-Japanese War*; Seaman, *From Tokio through Manchuria*; Frederic Villiers, *Port Arthur, Three Months with the Besiegers.*

APPENDIX A

BRIEF LIST OF BOOKS

(These books, costing about $25.00 if purchased on a single order, form a good basis for a school library in Mediæval and Modern History.)

I. Works covering the Whole Period

James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.* Enlarged and revised edition. Macmillan, N.Y. $1.50.

Victor Duruy, *History of France.* Translated by Mrs. M. Carey, with an introduction and a continuation to 1889 by J. F. Jameson, Crowell, N.Y. $2.00.

E. F. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany.* 2 vols. Macmillan. $4.00.

Carl Ploetz, *Epitome of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History.* Translated by W. H. Tillinghast. Houghton, Bost. $3.00.

J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History.* 2 vols. Ginn, Bost. $3.00.

II. Works on the Mediæval Period

G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* Scribners, N.Y. $2.50.

Charles Bémont and G. Monod, *Medieval Europe, 395–1270.* Holt, N.Y. $1.60.

Eginhard (Einhard), *Charlemagne.* American Book Co. $0.30.

Ephraim Emerton, *Mediæval Europe, 814–1300.* Ginn. $1.50.

Charles Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime.* Translated by E. W. Dow. Holt. $0.50.

J. A. Symonds, *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy.* Edited by Alfred Pearson. Holt. $1.75.

III. Works on the Modern Period

Walter Besant, *Gaspard de Coligny.* American Book Co. $0.30.

August Fournier, *Life of Napoleon the First.* Translated under editorship of E. G. Bourne. Holt. $2.50.

Gustav Freytag, *Martin Luther.* Open Court Co., Chic. $0.25.

Bertha M. Gardiner, *The French Revolution, 1793–1795.* ("Epochs.") Longmans. $1.00. *Or,*

W. O'Connor Morris, *The French Revolution and First Empire.* ("Epochs.") Scribners. $1.00.

S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War.* ("Epochs.") Longmans. $1.00.

H. P. Judson, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* Scribners. $1.25.

Richard Lodge, *History of Modern Europe, 1453–1878.* American Book Co. $1.50.

F. W. Longman, *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War.* ("Epochs.") Longmans. $1.00.

T. B. Macaulay, *Frederick the Great.* Maynard, Merrill & Co., N.Y. $0.25.

J. L. Motley, *Peter the Great.* Maynard, Merrill & Co. $0.25.

Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe, 1815–1899.* ("Periods.") Macmillan. $1.40.

Frederic Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* ("Epochs.") Longmans. $1.00.

OUTLINE MAPS

Excellent outline maps of Europe and of France may be obtained of the Superintendent of Publications of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., at the rate of 3 for 5 cents. Series of outline maps are also published by the following firms: —

American Book Company (Eclectic Map Blanks). N.Y.

Atkinson, Mentzer & Grover (Ivanhoe Historical Note Books). Chicago.

D. C. Heath & Co. Boston.

Rand, McNally & Co. Chicago.

The McKinley Publishing Company. Philadelphia.

APPENDIX B

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Titles marked with an asterisk (*) denote books especially desirable for a school library, besides those mentioned in the Brief List.)

* Adams, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation.* N.Y.

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INDEX

Diacritic marks: ā as in *late*; ă as in *fat*; ä as in *fur*; å as in *last*; â as in *care*; a̲ as in *fall*; e. eh, as in *cask*, *chasm*; ç as in *ice*; ē as in *me*; ĕ as in *met*, *berry*; e̲ as in *veil*; ē as in *term*; ê as in *there*; e̲ as in *novel*; ġ as in *gem*; g̃ as in *go*; ch, German *ch*; ī as in *ice*; ĭ as in *tin*; i as in *police*; ĸ, German *ch*; *n* as in *finger*; ɴ, the French nasal; ō as in *note*; ŏ as in *not*; o̲ as in *son*; ô as in *for*; o̲ as in *do*; o̲ as in *wolf*; s̲ as in *news*; ū as in *tune*; ŭ as in *nut*; u̲ as in *rude* (= o̲); u̲ as in *full*; ü, French *u*; ȳ as in *my*; y̆ as in *lady*. Single italic letters are silent.

Aachen (ä'ĸen), 39, 40.
Abbots, 87, 88, 108.
Äb-du̲l-Ä-zīz', 579.
Äb-du̲l-Ha-mīd' II., 579.
Ab'elard, 92.
Ä-bo̲u-kīr' Bay, battle of, 465.
Absolution, 80.
Abyssin'ia, 586.
Acä'dia, 357, 361.
Acre (ä'kēr), in Crusades, 134, 135, 140.
  Napoleon besieges, 466.
Addison, Joseph, 428.
Ä'dōlf of Nassau, 246.
A'drian IV., Pope, 152.
Adrian VI., Pope, 306.
Ad-ri-an-ō'ple, conquered by Turks, 260.
  treaty of (1829), 505.
Åf-ghan-is-tän', 118, 595.
Africa, partition of, 583–586.
Agincourt (ă-zhăn-koor'), battle of, 239.
Agrarian crimes in Ireland, 563.
Agriculture, mediæval, 178, 179
  Black Death affects, 233.
  Crusades influence, 142.
  Mohammedan, 117.
  monks influence, 87, 89.
Aids, feudal, 56.
Äix-lä-Çhä-pelle', and Charlemagne, 39–41.
  Congress of (1818), 500.
  peace of (1668), 351.
  peace of (1748), 407, 418.
Al'aric, 21.
Albā'nia, 580.
Albert I. (of Austria), Emperor, 247.
Albert II., Emperor, 258.
Alb̤igen'sēs, 216, 217, 219.
Al'cuin (-k̤win), 38.
Alexander I. of Russia, 476, 480, 481, 500.
Alexander II. of Russia, 532, 594.
Alexander III. of Russia, 595.
Alexander III., Pope, 153, 154, 155.
Alexander V., Pope, 267.
Alexander VI., Pope, 270, 271.
Alexandria, bombarded, 582.
Alex'ius Comne'nus, 114, 120, 123.
Alfonso X., of Castile, 246.
Alfonso XII., of Spain, 592, 593.
Alfonso XIII., of Spain, 593.
Alfred the Great, of England, 193.
Alġē'ria, annexed to France, 506, 507.
Al-ġi̲ērg', taken by France, 506.
Allodial estates, 52, 55.
Alps, 16, 17, 14.
Âl-säçe', 338, 548.
Äl'va, Duke of, 327.
Am-a-de'us I. of Spain, 592.
Å-mäl'fī, early commerce of, 186.
Amboy'na, massacre at, 418.
American colonies, 369, 416–418, 420, 421, 425.
American Independence, War of, 426.
Amiens (ä-me-ăn'), cathedral, 90.
  treaty of, 468.
Am'sterdam, attacked by Louis XIV., 358.
Å-mu̲r' River, 596.
Anagni (å-nän'yē), Pope seized at, 223.
A-nâm', acquired by France, 602.
Anath'ema, 81.
An'gevin kings of England, 200.
Angles, 21, 191.
Anglicans, 374.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 193.
Anjou (ăn-zhoo'), Charles of, 168, 169, 221.
Annals, 19, 37.
Anne of Austria, queen of France, 343, 347.
Anne of Beaujeau (France), 255.
Anne of England, 387, 388.
An'ti-oeh, in Crusades, 123–126, 129.
Ant'werp, commerce of, 186, 324.
  Spaniards in, 328, 329.
Ap'en-nīnes, 17.

Aquī'nas, Thomas, 94.
Aquitaine', 49, 200, 204, 213, 237, 242.
Aquita'nians, 32, 71.
Ā-rā'bī, 582.
Ăr'ăbs, 23, 116, 117, 118.
Ăr'agon, 162, 221, 256.
Areh-ān'gel, 395.
Archbishops, 81–83, 86.
Archdeacon, 81.
Architecture, 89–91, 275.
Arcot', siege of, 419.
Ā'rian Christians, 22, 84.
Ăr'istŏtle, 94, 118, 276.
Arkwright, Richard, 496.
Arleş, 49; *see* Burgundy.
Armā'da, Spanish, 319.
Armagnacs (ăr-măn-yăk'), 239, 240.
Armed Neutrality of the North, 425.
Armed peace, 581.
Armē'nia, massacres in, 581.
Armin'ians, 330, 371.
Arms and armor, 57, 58, 117, 197, 230, 231, 277, 314, 333, 349, 540, 545, 581.
  influence of Crusades on, 140.
Army, feudal, 58.
  Franks', 52.
  in Thirty Years' War, 333, 336.
  under Louis XIV., 349.
Arndt, Ernst Moritz, 483.
Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, 216, 217.
Arnold of Brescia, 152.
Ar'nulf, 49.
Arques (ärk), chateau of, 171, 172.
Art, 91, 275, 276, 341, 364.
Artois (är-twä'), 239.
Aryan peoples, 13.
Asca'nian house, 157.
Assembly, in French Revolution, 441–448.
  later, 501, 516–519, 587.
Assembly of Notables, 440.
Assignats (ă-sē-nyă'), 444.
Astrakhăn', 392.
As'trolabe, introduction of, 277.
Astronomy, 276.
At'abek, 131.
At'tila, 22.
Augs'burg, commerce of, 186.
  Confession, 295.
  League, 356.
  peace of, 296.
  population in Thirty Years' War, 338.
Augus'tus II. of Saxony, 396–398.
Aus'terlitz, battle of, 475.
Australia, 568, 569, 575.
Austria, beginnings of, 65, 152, 246, 259.
  Bohemia and, 298, 522.
  France and (1756), 413; (1792–1801), 446, 450, 455, 462, 463, 466, 467; (1805–1814), 475, 476, 479, 483, 484.
  Hapsburgs acquire, 246.
Austria, Hungary and, 298, 522, 524, 542, 594.
  Italy and, 361, 362, 413, 490; (1820–1867), 504, 510, 520, 521, 533–536, 541.
  Napoleon and, 462, 463, 467, 475, 476, 479, 483, 484.
  Poland and, 412, 413, 423, 424.
  Prussia and (1740–1763), 405–407, 413–416, 421; (1866), 540, 541.
  Quadruple Alliance, 499.
  races in, 521–523, 594.
  revolution of 1848 in, 521–524.
  Seven Years' War, 413–416, 421.
  since 1867, 580, 581, 586, 594.
  Turkey and, 423, 580.
Austria-Hungary, 542, 580, 581, 586, 594.
Austrian Empire (1804–1867), 477, 490, 526, 542.
Austrian Succession, War of, 405–407.
Autun (ō-tŭn'), 54.
Auxerre (ō-sâr'), 54.
Ă'vars, 32, 63.
Avignon (ă-vēn-yôn'), 208, 224, 264, 265, 294.
Ă'zof, 394, 398.
A-zōreş', discovery of, 257.

Babylonian Captivity, 224, 264.
Bā'den, 502, 541.
Bag-dăd', 116, 118.
Balaklā'va, battle of, 532.
Balance of power, 358.
Baldwin of Flanders, 188.
Bal'four, Arthur J., 571.
Bâl-kän' states, 578–581.
Bank of England, 491.
Baptism, 79.
Bar'dī, commercial company, 187.
Barebone's Parliament, 379.
Bā'rī, captured by Normans, 73.
Bar'ne-veldt, Jan van Olden, 329, 330.
Barons, in England, 198, 205, 206.
Barry (bâ-rē'), Madame dū, 412.
Bā'şel, Council of, 269, 270.
  peace of (1795), 455.
Basques (băsks), 71.
Bas-tīlle', destruction of, 442, 443.
Batā'vian Republic, 455, 476.
Bavā'ria, and Charlemagne, 32, 35.
  Austrian Succession War, 405, 406.
  early history, 65, 148, 152, 157.
  Napoleon and, 477.
  since 1815, 502, 541, 547.
  Spanish Succession War, 360.
  Thirty Years' War, 332, 336, 338.
Bā-yōnne', English possession, 238.
Bā-zāine', General, 545.
Bēa'consfield, Earl of (Disraeli), 557, 561.
Beaucaire (bō-kâr'), fairs at, 187.
Beaumarchais (bō-mar-shā'), 429.
Beauvais (bō-vā'), bishop of, 242.
Becket, Thomas à, 201.

Bedford, Duke of, 240, 242.
"Beggars" of Netherlands, 326, 327.
Belfry, 181, 182.
Belgium, and France, 448, 463.
since 1815, 490, 509, 584.
See also Netherlands.
Belisā'rius, 22.
Bĕn'edict, Saint, 86.
Benedict XIII., Avignon Pope, 266–268, 294.
Ben-e-dic'tine monks, 87, 88, 89.
Bĕn'e-fiçe, 51–53.
Benefit of clergy, 78.
Bĕneven'to, battle of, 167.
Bengal', 419, 420.
Bĕr-ĝ-ĝī'na River, Napoleon at, 482.
Bĕr'gamo, in Lombard League, 155.
Bêr'ĝen, Hanseatic station in, 188.
Berlin, burning of, 415.
conference (1884–1885), 584.
Congress (1878), 580.
decree, 477.
Napoleon takes, 476.
peace of (1742), 405.
population in Thirty Years' War, 338.
Revolution of 1848, 525.
Bĕrn, joins Swiss Confederation, 249.
Bĕr-na-dŏtte', 478.
Bernard, Saint, 89, 92, 131.
Bĕr-nīs', quoted, 421.
Bĕr-rī', Charles of, 251.
Berri, Duke of, 501.
Bill of Rights, 385.
Bir'ming-*h*am, 556.
Bishops, 80–83, 86, 94, 95, 306.
investiture question, 104–108.
Bis'marck, Otto von, 538–544, 548, 580, 581, 590–592.
Black Death, 232–234.
Black Prince, 231, 234, 235, 237.
Black Sea, closed, 532, 579.
Blăne, Louis, 517.
Blanche of Castile, 219.
Blen'*h*eim, battle of, 360.
Bloody Assize, 388.
Blū'cher (-ker), Marshal, 486.
Bōc-cā'ccio (-chō), 274.
Boer Wars, 570, 571.
Bohemia, and Austria, 298, 522.
early history, 63, 66, 247, 248.
electorate, 248.
Hussite revolt in, 258, 268, 269.
Reformation in, 301, 331, 332.
revolution of 1848, 522.
Thirty Years' War, 331, 332, 336.
Bō'he-mŏnd, 122.
Bōhmerwald (bē'mĕr-vālt), 17.
Bo-k*h*ā'ra, 595.
Bŏl'eyn, Anne, 314, 315.
Bologna (bo-lōn ya), 92, 149, 155.
Bom-bay', 418.
Bo'na-parte, Jerome, 477.
Bonaparte, Joseph, 477, 478, 479.
Bonaparte, Louis, 476.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, *see* Napoleon.
Bŏn'i-face VIII., Pope, 169, 222.
Bor-deaux' (-dō), 238, 242.
Bor'ĝi*a*, Cæsar, 271, 272.
Borodī'no, battle of, 481.
Boroughs, in England, 556.
Boş'nia, 260, 580.
Boş'well, James, 428.
Boş'worth, battle of, 256.
Bothwell, Earl of, 318.
Bou-lăn-ger' (-zhā'), 589.
Bou-lōgne', Napoleon at, 474.
Bour'bon, house of, 311, 484, 485, 490.
Neapolitan, 413, 536.
Spanish, 358, 359, 413.
Bourgeois (boor-zhwä'), Bourgeoisie (boor-zhwä-zē'), 508, 518, 527.
Bourges (boorzh), French court at, 240.
Bou-vīnes', battle of, 163, 204, 214.
Boycott, 568.
Boyne, battle of the, 386.
Bragan'za, house of, 341.
Bramăn'te, 275.
Bran'den-burg, 65, 248, 400, 401.
in Thirty Years' War, 334, 335, 338.
See Prussia.
Breĭ'ten-feld (-felt), battle of, 335.
Brĕm'en, 187, 547.
Brenner pass, 17, 186.
Brescia (brā'shē-ä), Arnold of, 152.
Bretigny (brĕ-tēn-yī'), treaty of, 237.
Bretons (brĭt'unz), 32, 71.
Brī-ĕnne', Napoleon at, 460.
Bright, John, 560.
Brill, capture of, 327.
British, *see* Great Britain.
Britons, Celtic, destruction of, 191.
Brittany, relations to France, 254.
Browning, Robert, 572.
Bruce, David, 229.
Bru'ĝĕş, 182, 186, 188.
Brunş'wick, duchy of, 157, 547.
Brussels, 325, 509.
Buck'ing-*h*am, Duke of, 370–372.
Bu'da, taken by Turks, 295.
Buenos Ayres (bō'nus ā'riz), 504.
Bul-gā'ri-a, 27, 114, 260, 579, 580.
Bun'dĕs-rā*th* of German Empire, 589, 590.
Bunyan, John, 382.
Burg*h*'ley, Lord, 316.
Burgun'dian party, in France, 239, 240, 242.
Burgundians, 21, 35.
Bur'gundy, Charles of, 251–254, 262.
Burgundy, duchy seized by king, 254.
dukes of, 238–242, 251–254.
kingdom of, 49, 99.
Burke, Edmund, 449.

Burns, Robert, 428, 572.
Byron, Lord, 505, 572.
Bў-zan'tine architecture, 89.
Byzantine Empire, *see* Eastern Empire.

Cabinet government in England, 387, 388.
Cabochiens (kȧ-bō-shĭ-ăn'), 239.
Cā'diz, Drake at, 319.
Cǣ'ro, 116, 117.
Ca-lā̄is', 232, 237, 242, 316.
Calcut'ta, 418, 420.
Căl'der-on, 341.
Calendar, 19, 20.
  French revolutionary, 451, 452.
Cā'liphs, 24.
Calix'tus III., Pope, 270.
Căl'mar, Union of, 334.
Cal'vin, John, 304, 305, 302.
Cal'vinism, 305.
Cam'perdown, battle of, 464.
Cām'po For'mī-o, treaty of, 463.
Canada, 350, 420, 568, 569.
Canning, George, 504, 505.
Cannon, 232, 242, 277.
Canon law, 78, 150.
Canons (clergy), 81.
Canos'sa, Henry IV. at, 105, 106.
Canterbury, 83.
Cantŏn', opened to British trade, 602.
Ca-nūte', 195, 196.
Cape Colony (Cape of Good Hope), 490, 565, 570.
Cā'pet, Hugh, 71, 211, 212.
Cā-pē'tian (-shan) kings, 211, 311.
Capit'ularies, 19, 35, 36, 38, 51.
Căp'pel, battle of, 304.
Carbonā'rĭ, 502, 513, 535, 543.
Cardinals, 84, 102.
Căr'is-brooke Castle, 377.
Carlists, in Spain, 592.
Carnōt', Lazare, 451, 466.
Carnot, Sā-dī', 589.
Carolin'gian Empire, 32–50.
Carolingians, 25, 32–50, 42, 44, 70, 71.
Car-ro'ccio (-chō), 155.
Carthu'sian (zhan) monks, 89.
Cartwright, Edmund, 496.
Castīle' and Leon, 256, 237.
Castles, 171, 172, 174, 175, 50, 200, 365.
Cath'a-ri, 216.
Cathedrals, 81, 182.
Catherine of Aragon, 314.
Catherine of France, 240.
Catherine de' Mę'dī-cī (-chē), 309, 310.
Catherine II. of Russia, 399, 416, 423, 426.
Catholic Association in Ireland, 555.
Catholic League in France, 310–312.
Catholic League of Germany, 331.
Catholics, *see* Reformation, Church, Pope.
  in England, 314–318, 369, 382, 383, 555.
Cavaignac (ka-vān-yȧk'), General, 518.
Cav-a-lī̆ĕr' Parliament, 381.
Cavaliers, 374.
Cȧ-vęur', Count, 520, 534–537.
Celibacy of the clergy, 78, 98, 99, 269.
Celtic Church, 191.
Celts, 18.
Cervăn'tēş, 341.
Cę-vĕn*nes'*, 17.
Cey-lŏn', 468, 490.
Chamber of Deputies, French, 587, 583.
Chām'ber-laĭn, Joseph, 563, 571.
Chambers of Reunion, 356.
Chambord (shăN-bôr'), Count of, 587.
Çham-pāg*ne'*, Count of, 54.
Champ (shăN) dę Mars, 445.
Chapter, cathedral, 81.
Charis'mians, 139.
Çhar'le-mā*gne*, 32–42.
  descendants of, 44.
Charles IV., Emperor (Charles of Bohemia), 248, 257.
Charles V., Emperor, 290–292, 294–299, 325.
Charles VI., Emperor (Charles of Austria), 359, 360, 404.
Charles VII., Emperor, 405, 406.
Charles of Anjou, 168, 169, 221.
Charles I. of England, 370–378, 334.
Charles II. of England, 378, 380–383, 353.
Charles IV. of France, 224.
Charles V. of France, 237, 238.
  as Dauphin, 235–237.
Charles VI. of France, 238, 240.
Charles VII. of France, 240–243, 251.
Charles VIII. of France, 254, 255.
Charles IX. of France, 309, 310.
Charles X. of France, 506–508.
Charles I. of Spain (Charles V., Emperor), 290–292, 294–299, 325.
Charles II. of Spain, 357–359.
Charles III. of Spain, 426.
Charles XII. of Sweden, 396–398.
Charles Albert of Sardinia, 520, 521.
Charles Martel', 24, 26, 52.
Charles the Bald, of France, 45, 46.
Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, 251–254, 262.
Charles the Fat, Emperor, 48, 49.
Charles the Simple, of France, 48, 49.
Charter, Great, 205, 206.
Charter of Henry I. of England, 199.
Charters, town, 180, 181.
Chassepots (shâs-pō'), 545.
Chateau Gaillard (shâ-tō gā-yār'), 172, 214.
Chăt'ham, Earl of, 417, 420.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 274.
China, 599–605, 118, 596.
Çhivalry, 173, 174.
Chō-tų'şĭtz (kō-), battle of, 405.
Christian IV. of Denmark, 333, 334.
Christianity in 800, 27, 28.

Christianity, spread of, 62, 75.
See Church, etc.
Chronicles, 19.
Church, mediæval, 77–96.
buildings, 89–91, 182, 215, 275.
councils, 84, 264–270.
Eastern and Western, 109, 78, 84, 261.
feudalism and, 51, 58.
reform in, 98–108, 268, 269, 271, 306, 307; *see* Reformation.
services and worship, 91, 92.
See Pope, Reformation, etc.
Church, modern Catholic, 306, 545, 591.
France and, 354, 453, 468, 609.
Germany and, 590, 591.
See Pope.
Cisal'pine Republic, 463, 474.
Cister'cian (-shan) monks, 89.
Citeaux (sē-tō'), 89.
Cities or towns, mediæval, life in, 180–189.
in France, 180–183, 214, 215.
in Germany, 158, 186–188.
in Italy, 149, 153–156, 186.
Civil law, 149, 150.
Civil War, in England, 374–378.
Clair-vaux' (-vō'), monastery, 89.
Clarkson, Thomas, 558.
Clement VII., Avignon Pope, 265, 294.
Clement VII., Pope, 294, 314.
Clergy, 77–83, 86, 92, 94, 95, 306.
celibacy of, 78, 93, 99, 269.
feudalism and, 52–55.
investiture of bishops, 104–108.
Cle'ri-cis Lā'i-cōs, 222.
Clerks (clergy), 78.
Cler'mont, council of, 120.
Clermont, steamboat, 499.
Clēves, acquired by Prussia, 400.
Climate of Europe, 12, 13, 16.
Clive, Robert, 419, 568.
Clo'vis, 25.
Cluny (klü-nē'), order of, 88, 89, 94, 95.
Cobden, Richard, 560.
Co'chin China, 602.
Code Napoléon (nā-pō-lā-ôN'), 469.
Cōl-bêr', 349, 350.
Cŏl'et, John, 279.
Coligny (ko-lēn-yē'), Gās-pārd' de, 309, 310.
Co-lōgne', 187, 248.
Colonies, of Belgium, 584.
of England, 369; *see* Great Britain.
of France, 414, 416–422, 565, 584, 602, 604.
of Germany, 584, 604.
of Great Britain, 414, 416–421, 425, 426, 565–571, 584, 602, 604.
of Italy, 584.
of Portugal, 584.
of Spain, 420, 421, 504, 584, 593.
Columbus, Christopher, and Spain, 257.
Comets in Middle Ages, 189.
Commendation, 51.
Commerce, and colonies, 422.
Crusades influence, 141.
early routes of, 184–186.
East Indian, 418.
mediæval, 183–188.
Mohammedan, 117.
Napoleon and, 477–479.
Netherlands, 324, 352.
Committee of Public Safety, 451–455.
Commons, House of, 207, 564.
contest with king, 368–380.
representation in, 555–557.
Commonwealth, English, 378, 379.
Commune of Paris, 548, 549.
Communes, of France, 181.
Communes, of Italy, 148, 149, 153–156.
Compass, mariner's, introduction of, 277.
Compurgation, 195, 203.
Concert of the Powers, 577, 578, 586.
Concor'dat, Napoleon's, 468, 609.
of Worms, 108.
Concordats of 1418, 268.
Côn-dé', Louis I. of, 309.
Condé, Louis II. of, 337, 348.
Confederation of the Rhine, 477.
Confu'cius (she-us), 599.
Conrad I. of Germany, 65.
Conrad II., 99.
Conrad III., 132, 145–148.
Conrad IV., 167.
Con'ra-dīn, 167, 168.
Conservatives, in Great Britain, 557, 560–565, 571, 572.
Con'stance, Council of, 267, 268.
treaty of (1183), 156.
Constance of Sicily, 158, 164.
Con'stan-tīne the Great, 20, 21, 85.
Constantine Pa-læ-ol'o-gus, 261.
Constantinople, 116, 136, 137, 139, 261.
Consubstantiation, 303.
Consulate, French, 467.
Continental System, Napoleon's, 477–479.
Conven'ticle Act, of England, 381.
Convention, National, of France, 447–456.
Convention Parliament, of England, 380.
Cook, Captain James, 568.
Copenhā'gen, bombardment of, 478.
Coper'nicus, 276.
Cor-day', Charlotte, 448.
Cor'dova, 116, 117, 23.
Cor-ne*ille'*, 364.
Corn Laws, British, 560, 561.
Cornwall, Richard, Duke of, 246.
Corporation Act, of England, 381.
Cor'sica, annexed to France, 460.
Cor-vées', 437, 440.
Cos'sacks, 608.
Costume, *see* Dress.
Council of Blood, in Netherlands, 327.

Councils of the Church, 84, 264–270.
Count, 36, 53, 55, 65.
Count Pal'atine, elector, 248, 332, 338.
Counter Reformation, 306, 307, 332.
Countess Matilda of Tuscany, 105.
Coup d'ê-tăt', of Napoleon III., 519.
Cour-trāt', battle of, 222.
Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop, 314, 315, 316.
Crécy (crā-sē'), battle of, 230–232.
Crete, independence of, 580.
Cri-me'a, acquired by Russia, 423.
Cri-me'an War, 530–532.
Criminal law in Great Britain, 557.
Crīs'pī, 593.
Crō'ăts in Austrian Empire, 522, 523.
Crompton, Samuel, 496.
Cromwell, Oliver, 375–380.
Cromwell, Richard, 380.
Cromwell, Thomas, 315.
Crossbowmen, 230.
Crown colonies of Great Britain, 569.
Crusades, 119–143.
  causes of, 119, 120.
  First Crusade, 120–127.
  Second Crusade, 131, 132.
  Third Crusade, 133–135.
  Fourth Crusade, 135–139.
  later crusades, 139, 140.
  results of, 140–143.
  Albigensian crusade, 216, 217.
Cuba, American intervention in, 593.
Cum'berland, Ernest, Duke of, 559.
Curés (ku-rā'), 435.
Curfew, 182.
Custozza (koos-tōd'zā), battle of, 520.
Cȳ'prus, and crusaders, 131, 134, 140.
  Great Britain acquires, 580.
Czechs (chĕks), rebellions of, 258, 522.

D'Ailly (dā-yē'), Pierre, 266.
Dăi'mi-os, 602.
Damas'cus, 116, 117, 132.
Dăm-i-et'ta, and crusaders, 139, 140, 220.
Dam'pĭēr, William, 568.
Dăn'do-lo, 136, 139.
Dāne'law, 193, 48.
Danes (Northmen), 193, 195; *see* Northmen.
Dan'te, 274.
Dan'ton, 447, 448, 453.
Dan'ŭbe, open to navigation, 532.
Danzig (dăn'tsĭĸ), 187.
Dark Age, 11.
Darnley, Lord, 318.
Darwin, Charles Robert, 550.
Dau'phin, 235.
Dauphiné (dō-fē-nā'), 235.
Declaration of the Rights of Man, French, 444.
Declarations of Indulgence, English, 382, 383.
De-cre'tum Gra-ti-a'ni, 150.
De-foe', Daniel, 428.
Delegations, in Austria-Hungary, 594.
De-mēne', 177.
Denmark, early history, 28, 75, 162, 188.
  Napoleonic war, 478.
  Prussia and, 526, 540.
  Reformation in, 302.
  Sweden and, 334, 396.
  Thirty Years' War, 333.
De Ruȳ'ter, 353.
De-si-de'ri-us, Lombard king, 33.
Deutscher Bund (doich'er boont), 502.
Devolution, War of, 351.
De Witt (vit), Jan, 352, 353.
Dextra'rius, 58.
Diaz (dē'ăs), Bartholomew, 257.
Dī-dĕrōt', Denis, 429, 439.
Diet, of Roncaglia, 153.
Dī-năr'ic Alps, 17.
Dī'o-ce-ses, 80–82.
Di-o-cle'tian (-shan), 20.
Diplomacy, Byzantine, 115.
Directory, French, 455, 456, 461, 463–467.
Dispensing power, in England, 383, 385.
Diş-rāe'lī, Benjamin, 557, 561.
Dissenters, in England, 383, 386, 555.
Dnĭĕs'ter River, 423.
Dōğe of Venice, 136.
Dŏmeş'day Book, 199.
Dŏm'inic, Saint, 217.
Domin'icans, 217–219.
Donation of Constantine, 85, 86, 277.
Dôn'jŏn, 171, 172.
Dordōğne' River, 352.
Dôrt, synod at, 330.
Drā-gōn-nādes', 355.
Drake, Sir Francis, 319.
Drama, origin of, 92.
Dreş'den, battle of, 483.
  peace of, 406.
Dress, 41, 176, 365, 381, 414.
Dreyfūs' Affair, 589.
Dual Alliance, 582.
Dubois (dū-bwä'), Abbé, 411.
Dū Guesclin (gā-klăn'), Bĕr-trănd', 238.
Duke, 55, 65, 147.
Dunbar', battle of, 378.
Dun'stan, 194.
Dū-pleix', in India, 418, 419.
Du-quesne' (-kān'), Fort, 418.
Dutch, *see* Holland.
Dyeing, in Middle Ages, 176.

Ēal'dormen, 194.
Earls, 196.
East India Company, English, 418–420, 569, 570.
Eastern Church, 109, 78, 84, 261.
Eastern Empire, 22–25, 27, 75, 114–116.
  crusaders and, 120, 123, 136–139.
  fall of, 260, 261.

Eastern Question, 423, 580, 579–581.
Eastern Roŭ-me'ĭ-a, 580.
Échevins (āsh-văn'), 181.
Eck, Dr. John, 289.
Ecumen'ical councils, 84, 264–270.
E-des'sa, 129, 131.
Edgar of England, 194.
Edward I. of England, 206, 207, 223, 140.
Edward II., 208.
Edward III., 208, 225, 229–232, 237.
Edward IV., 255.
Edward VI., 315.
Edward VII., 572.
Edward the Confessor, 196, 197.
Egbert, king of Wessex, 193.
Eg'mont, Count of, 326, 327.
Egypt, 132, 139, 140.
  Napoleon's campaign in, 464–466, 468.
  since 1799, 582, 583.
Einhard (īn'hart), or Eginhard, 34, 40.
Ēis'le-ben, 287.
Elba, 474, 484, 485.
Elbe River, 18.
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 213.
Electors of Empire, 248, 259, 332, 338, 388.
El'i-ot, Sir John, 373.
Elizabeth of England, 316–320, 329, 368.
Elizabeth of Russia, 399.
É-mī-grés', 444–446, 506.
Emperor, election of, 151, 247, 248, 259, 332, 338, 388.
  Napoleon cheapens title, 471.
  Pope and, *see* Pope.
  weakness of, 258, 259.
  See Holy Roman Empire, and names of emperors.
Encyclopédie (ăn-sē-klō-pā-dē'), 439.
Enghein (ăn-gyăn), Duke of, 470.
England (449–1509), 191–209, 229–244, 255, 256; (1509–1707), 313–320, 368–387; (since 1707), *see* Great Britain.
  Black Death in, 233.
  Civil War in, 374–378.
  colonies of, 369; *see* Great Britain.
  constitutional monarchy in, 368–390.
  feudalism in, 198, 54, 59, 225.
  France and, 229–244, 351, 353, 356–361.
  government of, 194, 203, 385, 564.
  Hundred Years' War, 229–244.
  literature of, 274, 319, 382, 428, 572.
  Louis XIV. and, 351, 353, 356–361.
  Netherlands and, 351–353.
  population of, 188.
  Reformation in, 302, 313–320.
  sea power of, 422, 491.
  Spain's wars with, 319, 370, 371, 373.
  Spanish Succession War, 359–361.
  union with Scotland, 368, 387.
  Wars of the Roses, 242.
  See also Great Britain.
Enlightened despots, 426.
Epī'rus, 580.
E-răs'mus, 279, 280, 294.
Er'furt, 287.
Erz'ĕr-bīr-ĕr (ĕrts'-), 17.
Estates, in France, 181, 222.
Estates-General, 222, 236, 342, 440, 441.
Eth'elred, 195.
Eū'eha-rist (or Lord's Supper), 79, 91, 109, 303.
Eugene of Savoy, 359, 360.
Eugene, stepson of Napoleon, 476.
Eugénie (ĕ-zhā-nē') of France, 529, 546.
Eū-ge'nĭ-us IV., Pope, 269.
Europe, geography of, 12–18.
Ēves'hăm, battle of, 206.
Ex-ar'ehate of Ravenna, 24, 25, 26.
Ex-cheq'uer, English, 202.
Exchequer, French, 220.
Excommunication, 81.
Extreme unction, sacrament of, 80, 79.
Eylau (ī'lou), battle of, 476.

Factory Act in Great Britain, 558.
Factory system, 497.
Fāi-nĕ-ānt' kings, in France, 25.
Fairs, of Middle Ages, 186, 187, 161.
  World's, 530.
Fal'conry, 174.
False Decretals, 85, 86.
Family compact of Spain and France, 406.
Faubourgs (fō-boor'), 181.
Faure (fōr), Félix (fā-lēs'), 589.
Fā'vre, Jules (zhül), 546.
Fawkes, Guy, 369.
Fe'alty, 56.
Feahr-bel-līn', battle of, 396, 401.
Felix V., anti-pope, 270.
Fé-nĕ-lôn', 365.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 298.
Ferdinand II., Emperor (Ferdinand of Styria), 331–337.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 255, 256.
Ferdinand VII. of Spain, 503, 504, 542.
Feudal government, 53–60, 250.
Feudal life, 171–189.
Feudal system, 50–60, 74.
  Crusades influence, 142.
  in England, 198, 225.
  in France, 226, 443.
  in Germany, 225, 246.
  in Japan, 602, 603.
  in Palestine, 130.
Feudal warfare, 57–59.
Feudatories, *see* Lords (feudal).
Fichte (fĭk'te), 483.
Fiēf, 51–53.
Field of May, 36, 37.
Fielding, Henry, 428.
Fĭl-i-o'que, in Nicene creed, 109.

Finns, Finland, 27, 478, 490, 608.
Fist-right, in Germany, 59.
Five-mile Act, in England, 381.
Flăg'ellants, 233.
Flanders, and France, 221, 229, 254.
See Netherlands.
Fleury (flē-rē'), Cardinal, 412.
Florence, 176, 271, 272.
Florida, 420, 426.
Fôn-tāźne-bleau' (-blō'), 484.
Fônte-nāy', battle of, 45, 46.
Food, in Middle Ages, 175, 176, 187, 188.
Formo'sa, acquired by Japan, 603.
Fourier (foo-ryā'), 517.
Fox, Charles James, 449.
France, 46, 48, 49; (886–987), 69–71; (987–1453), 211–244; (1453–1610), 251–255, 308–313; (1610–1715), 342–366; (1715–1815), 411–414, 418–420, 426, 434–490; (1815–1871), 500–509, 513–519, 529–531, 535–539, 542–550; (since 1871), 581, 586–589, 609.
American war, 425, 426, 440.
art of, 364.
Austrian Succession War, 405–407.
Black Death in, 234.
Chinese War, 602.
church in, 354, 453, 468, 609.
cities in, 180–183, 214, 215.
colonies of, 350, 351, 414, 416–422, 565, 584, 602, 604.
Crusades influence, 142.
departments of, 444.
Directory, 455–467.
feudalism in, 54, 59, 226, 443.
German war (1870), 542–548.
government of, 349, 435, 468, 587, 588.
Hundred Years' War, 229–244.
Italy and, 255, 256, 294, 535, 536.
literature of, 363, 364, 429.
manufactures of, 350, 355, 436.
Napoleon's reign, 467–487.
Orleans monarchy, 513–516.
Reformation in, 302, 308–313.
Revolution in, 434–457.
revolution of 1830, 507–509.
revolution of 1848, 516–518.
Russian Alliance, 581.
sea power of, 422.
Seven Years' War, 418–422.
Thirty Years' War, 335, 337, 338.
Frânçhe-Comté (kôn-tā'), 353,
Franchise in Great Britain, 556, 557.
Francis I., Emperor, 406.
Francis II., Emperor, 467, 475, 477.
Francis I. of Austria, 477.
Francis I. of France, 291, 294–296, 308.
Francis II. of France, 309.
Francis II. of Naples, 536.
Francis, Saint, of Assisi, 218.
Francis Joseph of Austria, 524.
Francis Xav'i-er (zăv'-), Saint, 307.
Francis'cans, 218.
Franco'nia, duchy of, 65.
Franconian Emperors, 98, 99, 101, 103–108.
Frankfort (on the Main), 187, 247, 259, 541.
parliament, 525, 526.
Franks, 21, 25–27, 32–42, 52.
"Franks," crusaders, 123; *see* Crusades.
Frederick V., Elector Palatine, 330, 332, 333, 338.
Frederick I., Barbaros'sa, Emperor, 150–159, 183.
Frederick II., Emperor, 163–167, 189.
Frederick III., Emperor, 258, 259.
Frederick I. of Prussia, 402.
Frederick II., the Great, of Prussia, 403–408, 414–416, 421, 426, 427.
Frederick the Wise, 292, 296.
Frederick William, Great Elector, 400, 401.
Frederick William I., king of Prussia, 402, 403.
Frederick William III., 475, 476, 483.
Frederick William IV., 525, 526, 539.
Frę-der-īks-hâld', siege of, 398.
Free companies, in France, 237.
French Academy, 363.
French Revolution, 434–457.
Friars, 89, 217–219.
Friedland (frēt'lānt), battle of, 476.
Frźēş'land, 65.
Fronde, 347, 348.
Fụl'ton, Robert, 499.

Ga-bel*le'*, 437.
Galicia (ga-lish'i-a), in 1848, 522.
Gal-i-le'o, 276.
Găl'lican Church, 354.
Gă'ma, Vās'co dă, 257.
Gambet'ta, Léon, 546.
Gă-rī-bāl'dī, Giuseppe, 521, 536.
Ga-rōnne' River, 18.
Gas-tôn', French prince, 343.
Gaul, 18, 21.
General councils, 84, 264–270.
Ge-ne'va, Convention of 1864, 532.
Reformation in, 304, 305.
Ğĕn'o-a, commerce of, 130, 131, 141, 186.
Napoleon and, 463.
Geography of Europe, 12–18.
George I. of Great Britain, 388, 389.
George II., 389, 413, 417.
George III., 416, 420, 425, 468, 555.
George IV., 553, 555.
Georgia (in the Caucasus), 595.
Ger'bert, Pope Sylvester II., 68.
German Confederation (of 1815), 490, 502, 524, 526.
German Empire (of 1871), 548, 581, 586, 589–592.
colonies of, 584, 604.

Germanic migrations, 21, 22, 48, 191.
Germans in Austrian Empire, 521–523.
Germany (843–1024), 46, 48, 49, 63–69; (1024–1268), 98–110, 145–170; (1254–1500), 246–249, 251–253, 257–260; (1500–1648), 286–299, 330–340; (after 1648), *see* Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, etc., and German Empire.
  cities in, 158, 186–188.
  Crusades influence, 142.
  feudalism in, 54, 59, 225, 246.
  government, *see* Emperor; (1815–1830), 502; (after 1871), 589, 590.
  literature of, 158, 275, 429.
  Louis XIV. and, 356, 359.
  mediæval king of, election, 151.
  Napoleon and, 477, 482–484, 490.
  peasant revolt in (1525), 293.
  Reformation in, 286–299, 330–340.
  revolution of 1848, 524–526.
  subdivision of, 157, 166, 252, 340.
  Thirty Years' War in, 330–340.
  unification of, 539–548.
Gerson (zhär-sôn′), Jean (zhăn), 266.
Ghĕnt, pacification of, 328.
Ghĭb′el-lĭnes, 147.
Gib′bon, Edward, 428.
Gi-brăl′tar, acquired by England, 362.
Gil Blas (zhēl blās), 429.
Gi′ron′dists, 446, 448–451, 453.
Glad′stône, William E., 557, 561–564, 568, 570, 571.
Glŏuces′ter, Humphrey, Duke of, 240.
Godfrey of Bouillon (boo-yôn′), 122, 129.
Godwin, earl of Wessex, 196.
Goē′thę, Johann Wolfgang von, 429.
Golden Bull, 248.
Gordon, General, 583.
Gothic architecture, 90, 91.
Goths, 35, 71; *see* Ostrogoths and Visigoths,
Gramôn′t′, Duke of, 543.
Gra-nā′da, kingdom of, 256, 257.
Grānde Çhar-trēuşe′, 89.
Grănd Trĭā-nôn′, 355.
Grăn-sôn′, battle of, 251.
Grā′tian (-shĭ-an), canonist, 150.
Grâve-lôtte′, battle of, 545.
Great Britain (before 1707), *see* England; (1707–1789), 387–389, 413–426; (since 1789), 553–573, 580–586.
  Austrian Succession War, 406, 407.
  Chinese War, 602.
  colonies of, 565–571, 414, 416–421, 425, 426, 490, 584, 602, 604.
  Crimean War, 530–532.
  Egypt and, 582, 583.
  France and, 449, 450, 455, 464–466, 468, 474–480, 484, 486–493.
  government of, 564.
  industrial revolution in, 495–499.
Great Britain, manufactures of, 495–497, 553.
  Napoleonic wars, 474–480, 484, 486–493.
  pauperism in, 492, 558.
  public debt of, 492.
  sea power of, 422, 491.
  Seven Years' War, 413–422.
Great Charter, of England, 205–206.
Great Commoner, 417.
Great Council of England, 207.
Great Elector, Frederick William, 400, 401.
Great Interregnum, 167, 246.
Great Powers, 495, 586.
Great Schism, 265–268.
Greece, 505, 580.
Greek Church and Empire, *see* Eastern.
Greek fire, 115.
Greenland, settlement of, 72.
Grego′rian calendar, 20.
Greg′ory I., Pope, 25, 110.
Gregory VI., 99.
Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), 99–106, 110.
Gregory IX., 164, 166.
Gregory XII., 266–268.
Gren-ā′da, 418, 420.
Grévy (grā-vē′), Jules (zhūl), 588.
Grey, Lady Jane, 316.
Gro′tius (shĭ-us), 363.
Guelfs (gwĕlfs), 147.
Gŭī-ā′na, British, 565.
Gŭī-ĕnne′, 225, 229.
Gŭilds, 148, 183, 436.
Guillotin (gē-yō-tăn′), Dr., 449.
Gŭil′lo-tīne, 449.
Gū-īşe′, house of, 309–311.
Gŭī-zōt′, François P. G., 514–516.
Gunpowder, introduction of, 277.
Gunpowder Plot, in England, 369.
Gustā′vus Adolphus, 334–336.
Gustavus III. of Sweden, 423, 426.
Gu̧′ten-bĕrg, Johann, 279.

Hăar′lem, 327, 328.
Hāgue Conference, 586.
Ham (ăn), Louis Napoleon at, 515.
Hamburg, 187, 547.
Hampden, John, 373, 375.
Han′over, 157, 388, 398, 502, 540, 541.
Hanove′rian kings, of Great Britain, 388.
Han-se-ăt′ic League, 187, 188, 184, 185, 340.
Hapsburg Castle, 250.
Hapsburg house, rise of, 246, 247, 258, 259, 298.
  Spanish and Austrian, 290, 298, 357, 358.
Har′den-bĕrg, 482.
Har-di-ca-nūte′, king of England, 196.
Har′greāvęs, James, 496.
Harold of England, 196–198.
Hâ-rọun′-ăl-Rash′id, 40.
Harvey, William, English physician, 276.
Hāstings, battle of, 197.

Hastings, Warren, 420.
Hē-bēr′, Jacques René, 453.
Hg′fe-lę, quoted, 101.
He-ģī′ra, the, 19.
Henry I. of England, 199.
Henry II. of England, 200–203, 213, 214.
Henry III. of England, 206, 220.
Henry IV. of England, 239.
Henry V. of England, 239, 240.
Henry VI. of England, 240, 242.
Henry VII. of England, 256, 313.
Henry VIII. of England, 313–315.
Henry I. of France, 212.
Henry II. of France, 296, 308.
Henry III. of France, 309–311, 329.
Henry IV. of France (Henry of Navarre), 310–313.
Henry I. of Germany, 65.
Henry II. of Germany, 69.
Henry III. of Germany, 99, 101.
Henry IV. of Germany, 101, 103–107.
Henry V. of Germany, 107.
Henry VI. of Germany, 159, 162.
Henry VII. of Germany, 247.
Henry the Lion, 152, 155, 156, 157.
Henry the Navigator, 257.
Henry the Proud, 146, 147.
Hep′tar-chy, in England, 191.
Hĕr-ät′, 596.
Hĕr-zę-go-vī′na (-tsā-), 579, 580.
Hesse-Cás′sel, acquired by Prussia, 541.
Hesse-Darm′stădt (1867), 541.
High Commission, court of, 373, 374.
Hil′de-brând (Gregory VII.), 99–106, 110.
Hō′hĕn-stau-fen (-stou-), 146–170.
Hō′hĕn-zōl-lĕrn (-tsōl-), house of, 399, 400.
Hohenzollern-Sig′mā-rīng-en, 543.
Holland (Netherlands, or Dutch Netherlands), 328, 338, 340, 352.
  Belgium and, 490, 509.
  East Indian trade, 418.
  Louis XIV. and, 351–354, 356, 359, 360, 362.
  Napoleon and, 476.
  Revolutionary France and, 450, 455.
  sea power of, 422.
Holy Alliance, 500.
Holy Roman Empire, 67, 74, 98–110, 477; *see* Emperor, and Germany.
Hom′age, 56.
Home Rule, in Ireland, 562–565.
Hŏng′kŏng′, acquired by Great Britain, 602.
Hōrn, Count of, 326, 327.
Hos′pitalers, 130, 131.
Hôtel (ō-tĕl′) dęs Invalides (ăn-vā-lēd′), 349, 515.
Hų′bĕrts-bųrg, treaty of, 421.
Hug*h* Cā′pet, 71, 211, 212.
Hū′ģue-nots, 308–313, 342, 343, 354–356.
Humanism, 273.
Humanitarian reforms in Great Britain, 557.
Hum′bert I. of Italy, 594.
"Hundred Days," Napoleon's, 485.
Hundred Years' War, 229–244.
Hunga′rians, 63, 65, 66.
Huṇ′gary, 65, 66, 167, 298, 423; (since 1848), 522–524, 541, 542, 594.
Huns, 21, 22.
Huss, John, 258, 267.
Hųt′tęn, Ulrich von (ool′rĭk fŏn), 279.

Iceland, settlement of, 71.
Iconoclas′tic Controversy, 25, 109.
Immunity, 36, 53, 78, 88.
Independents, in England, 377, 379.
India, 407, 414, 418–421, 569, 570.
  Napoleon threatens, 464, 465.
  Russia and, 596.
Indian Mutiny, 569.
Indulgences, 288.
Industrial Revolution, 495.
Innocent III., Pope, 135–137, 162, 163, 204, 216.
Innocent IV., 166.
Inns′bruck (-prook), battle of, 297.
Inquisition, 218, 219, 341.
Instrument of Government, English, 379.
Intend′ants, French, 344.
International law, 363, 532.
Investiture, 94.
Investiture Conflict, 104–108.
Ī-ō′na, island of, 191.
Ireland, church disestablished, 561, 562.
  England conquers, 201, 202.
  famine in, 560.
  Home Rule agitation, 562–565.
  Land Acts, 562, 563, 565.
  revolts of, 374, 375, 378, 386.
  union with Great Britain, 555.
I-rē′nē, Eastern Empress, 34.
Irnē′rius of Bologna, 149.
Iron crown, the, of Italy, 33.
Ironsides, Cromwell's, 376.
Isaac An′gelus, 136.
Isabella of Castile, 257.
Isabella of France, 240.
Isabella II. of Spain, 543.
Isau′rian emperors (Eastern Empire), 114.
Iş′lam, 579.
Is-mā-īl′, Khedive, 582.
Italian Republic, 474, 476.
Italy (before 887), 21, 22, 24, 47, 48; (887–1125), 66–69, 72–74, 106; (1125–1559), 145–170, 226, 255–257, 271–279, 294, 295; (1789–1851), 461–463, 467, 503, 504, 510, 520, 521; (since 1859), 533–537, 549, 593, 594.
  art of, 275, 276.
  cities in, 148, 149, 153–156, 186.
  colonies of, 584.
  literature of, 274.

Italy, Mohammedans in, 63, 72, 73.
Napoleon in, 461–467.
Normans in, 72–74.
Renaissance in, 273–276, 278, 279.
revolts of 1820–1821, 503, 504.
revolution of 1830, 510.
revolution of 1848, 520, 521.
Triple Alliance, 581.
unification of, 533–537, 549.

Jăc'o-bin Club, 446, 454, 455.
Jăc'o-bite risings, in England, 388.
Jacquerie (zhăk-rē'), 236.
Jamāi'ca, 565.
James I. of England (VI. of Scotland), 318, 368–370, 332.
James II. (Duke of York), 382–386.
Jăn'izaries, 260, 261, 423.
Jan'senists, 428.
Japan, 602–607.
Jeanne (zhăn) d'Arc (Joan of Arc), 240–242.
Jeffreys, Judge, 383.
Jena (yā'na), battle of, 476.
Jenghiz (jĕn'gis) Khān, 599.
Je-rōme' of Prague, 267.
Jerusalem, captured by Turks, 119.
Crusades, 126, 129, 132, 139, 164, 165.
custody of holy places in, 531.
Jĕg'ū-its, 307.
expulsion of, 427, 428, 591.
Jews, 122, 555.
Jo-an' of Arc, 240–242.
John of Burgundy, 239, 240.
John of England, 202, 204–206.
John of France, 234, 235, 237.
John XXII., Pope, 247.
John XXIII., Pope, 267, 268.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 428.
Jonson, Ben, 319.
Joseph II., Emperor, 427.
Joseph of Bavaria, 358.
Josephine of France, 480.
Juarez (hoo-ā'rās) of Mexico, 537, 538.
Julian calendar, 19.
Jülich (yü'lik), Duke of, 400.
Julier (yool'yer) pass, 186.
Jury trial, in England, 203.
Justin'ian, 22.
Jūtes, invade Britain, 191.

Kā-mę-rųn', 584.
Känt, Immanuel, 429.
Kau'nitz (kou'-), Austrian minister, 413.
Keep, of castle, 171, 172.
Kem'pis, Thomas à, 287.
Khār-tųm', captured by Mahdi, 583.
Khę-dīve', 582.
Khiva (kē'vâ), 595.
Kiauchau (kē-ou'chou'), 604.
King George's War, 416.
King of the Romans, 165.
King William's War, 357, 416.
Kitch'ener, General, 583.
Knī'āz Potem'kine, 608.
Knights, 54, 55, 58, 173, 174, 365.
Knight's fee, 55.
Knights Hospitaler of St. John, 130, 131, 465.
Knights Templar, 130, 131.
Knights, Teutonic, 130, 131, 400.
Knox, John, 318.
Kon'go Free State, 584.
Königgrätz (kē-nik-grāts'), battle of, 540.
Ko'ran, 23.
Ko-re'a, 602, 603, 606.
Kos-çi-ūs'ko, Thaddeus, 424.
Kossuth (kŏsh'oot), Louis, 522, 524.
Kųltųr'kāmpf, 590.
Kų'nersdorf, battle of, 415.
Kuropāt'kin, Russian general, 606.
Kushk, 596.
Kų-tų-sōff', Russian general, 482.
Kwăng-chau-wăn' (-chou-), 604.

Labor, in Middle Ages, 183, 233.
in modern times, 514, 517, 518, 558, 591.
Lă-fā-yĕtte', Marquis de, 442, 445, 508.
Lă *Hōgue*, battle of, 357.
Land'frĭē-den (länt'-), 59.
Land tenure, feudal, 51–53, 56, 57.
Lăn'gres, 54.
Lăn-gue-dōc', 216.
Lă Ro-çhelle', 309, 312, 343.
Lă Sāl'e', Sieur de, 351.
Lat'eran Council (1215), 84.
Latin Empire of Constantinople, 138.
Laud, William, 371, 373, 374.
Law, development of, 149, 150.
international, 363, 532.
Napoleon's reforms of, 469.
Law, John, 411, 412.
Lawyers of 12th century, 150.
Laybach (lī'băk), Congress of, 503.
Leeds, 556.
Lę Fęv're, Jacques (zhāk), 308.
Legion of Honor, 469, 501.
Legislative Assembly of France, 446–448.
Legitimists in France, 513, 587.
Legnano (lā-nyā'no), battle of, 155.
Leīp'zig (-sĭk), battle of, 483.
Leo I., Pope, 25, 110.
Leo III., 34.
Leo IX., 99, 100.
Leo X., 288, 289.
Leo XIII., 549, 589, 591.
Lę-ō'ben, Napoleon at, 463.
Le'opold, Emperor, 353, 358.
Leopold I. of Belgium, 509.
Leopold II. of Belgium, 583, 584.
Lę Sage (-sāzh'), 429.
Les'sing, 429.

Lĕttres de câ-çhĕz', 363, 436.
Leuthen (loi'tĕn), battle of, 415.
Leÿ'dĕn, siege of, 327.
Liao-tong (le-ou'tŏng') peninsula, 606.
Liao-yang (le-ou'yäng'), battle of, 606.
Liberals, in Great Britain, 557, 560, 561, 563, 564, 568, 572.
Liberal-Unionists, 563.
Liège (le-ăzh'), revolt of, 251.
Life, Crusades influence, 141, 142.
in France, 364, 365, 434–437.
in mediæval castle, 171–176, 189.
in mediæval Germany, 157, 158.
in mediæval town, 180–189, 148, 149.
of mediæval peasants, 176–179, 188, 189.
Ligny (lēn-yē'), battle of, 486.
Ligu'rian Republic, 463.
Lï Hung Chäng, 603.
Lĭlle, manufactures of, 325.
Literature, Arabian, 117, 118.
English, 274, 319, 382, 428, 572.
French, 363, 364, 429.
German, 158, 275, 429.
Italian, 274.
mediæval Latin, 37, 38, 273, 274, 280.
Spanish, 341.
Liv'ing-stŏne, Dr. David, 583.
Locke, John, 438.
Locomotives, 497. 498.
Lo'di, battle of, 462.
Loire (lwär) River, 18.
Lombard League, 154, 155.
Lombards, 24–26, 33, 35.
Lom'bardy, 148, 149, 152, 153, 155, 156, 536.
London, Hanseatic station in, 188.
plague and fire in, 383.
Longbowmen, 231.
Long Parliament, 373–379, 380.
Looms, 496.
Lords, feudal, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 173–176, 177, 180, 189.
Lords, House of, English, 207, 314, 564.
Lord's Supper, sacrament of, 79, 91, 303.
Lōr-rāźne', 65, 413, 548.
Lorrīs', charter of, 180.
Lothair', Emperor, 45–47.
Lothair II., Emperor, 145.
Lothair of France, 70.
Lotharin'gia, 65.
Lǫu-bgz', É-mīle', 589.
Louis of Bavaria, Emperor, 247, 248.
Louis of Bohemia and Hungary, 295.
Louis IV., D'Outre-mêr', of France, 70.
Louis VI., 212.
Louis VII., 132, 213, 214.
Louis VIII., 217.
Louis IX., 217, 219–221, 140.
Louis X., 224.
Louis XI., 251, 254.
Louis XII., 308.
Louis XIII., 342, 347.
Louis XIV., 347–366, 422.
Louis XV., 411–414, 435.
Louis XVI., 435, 439–449.
Louis XVIII., 484, 485, 490, 501, 502.
Louis, Duke of Orleans, 239.
Louis Phī-lĭppe', 508, 509, 513–516.
Louis the Child, 49.
Louis the German, 45, 46.
Louis the Pious, 45, 85.
Louisburg, 407, 418.
Lǫu-ī-ʒī-ā'na, 421, 494.
Loy-ō'la, Ignatius, 307.
Lü'beck, 156, 187, 547.
Lụ-cerne', joins Swiss Confederation, 249.
Lü-nĕ-vīlе', peace of, 467.
Luther, Martin, 287–294, 296, 302–304, 275.
Lu'theran Church, 293.
Lü'tzĕn, battle of, 336.
Lux'emburg, duchy of, in 1867, 542.
Luxemburg, Henry of, Emperor, 247.
Luxemburg house, 247, 248, 257–259.
Ly'ons, Council of, 167.
insurrection in, 514.

Ma-cau'laў, Thomas Babington, 572.
Măcedo'nia, 580, 581.
Macedonian Emperors, 114.
Mă-chī-ă-vel'lī, 272.
MăcMă-hŏn', President, 545, 587, 588.
Madagas'car, 584.
Ma-dēī'ra Islands, discovery of, 257.
Madrăs', 418.
Măg'dę-bụrg, 66, 335.
Ma-ǧen'ta, battle of, 536.
Mag'na Chär'ta, 205, 206.
Mag'yars, 63, 521–523.
Mäh'dī, 583.
Măin-te-nôn', Madame de, 354.
Mainz (mīnts), Archbishop of, 83, 248.
Majụ'ba Hill, battle of, 570.
Mal'ta, 181, 465, 468, 490.
Măm'e-lūkes, 465.
"Man in the Iron Mask," 363.
Man'chester, 556.
Manchụ'ria, 605, 607.
Manchụs', 599.
Man'fred, 167.
Manichē'ans, 216.
Ma-nil'a, 421, 593.
Manor, mediæval, 179.
Man'tua, taken by Napoleon, 462.
Manufactures, Crusades influence, 142.
machinery for, 495–497.
mediæval, 182–185.
Mohammedan, 117.
of France, 350, 355, 436.
of Germany, 401, 402, 592.
of Great Britain, 495–497, 553.
of Netherlands, 325.

Măn'zi-kĕrt, captured by Turks, 120.
Mă-rät', Jean Paul, 448.
Marcĕl', Stephen, 236.
Mă-rĕn'go, battle of, 467.
Margaret of Parma, 325.
Maria Louisa, or Marie Louise, Empress of France, 480, 514.
Maria Th*e*-re'sa, 405–407, 413, 414, 416, 421.
Ma-rī̊' Ăn-toi-nĕt*t*e' (-twă-), 439, 440, 442, 453.
Ma-rī̊' Mg'dī-cī (-chē), 342.
Marlborough, Duke of, 359, 360.
Mar'lowe, Christopher, 319.
Marseillaise (mar-să-yāz'), 446.
Marsiglio (mar-sēl'yē-o) of Padua, 264.
Marston Moor, battle of, 376.
Martin IV., Pope, 221.
Martin V., 268.
Mar-tĭ-nique' (-nēk'), 418.
Mary of Burgundy, 254.
Mary I. of England, 315, 316.
Mary II. of England, 384–387.
Mary Queen of Scots, 317–319.
Mass, 79, 91.
Matilda, Countess, of Tuscany, 101.
Matilda of England, 200.
Matthī'as, Emperor, 331.
Mau'rĭc*e*, Duke of Saxony, 296, 297.
Maurice of Netherlands, 329, 330.
Maximilian I. of Austria, 254, 255, 259.
Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, 331, 332, 338.
Maximilian of Mexico, 538.
Maximum, Law of the, 452, 455.
May Field, 36, 37.
Mă-yĕnn*e*', Duke of, 311.
Mayors of the palace, 25.
Mă-zā-rin' (-răn'), Cardinal, 347, 348, 337.
Mazzini (mät-sē'ne), Ġĭu-sĕp'pg, 520, 521, 533.
Meeh'lin, taken by Spain, 327.
Me'diatizing, feudal, 59.
Mg'dī-cī (-chē), commercial company, 187.
Medici, ruling family in Florence, 271.
Medici, *see* Catherine, and Marie.
Mg'hg-met Ă'lī, 582.
Me-lănch'thŏn, Philip, 293, 295.
Mendicant Orders, 217–219.
Mercā'tor's projection, 278.
Merchants, in Middle Ages, 187.
Mer'cia (-shĭ-a), kings of, 193.
Merovin'gian kings, 25, 26.
Merv (mĕrf), acquired by Russia, 595.
Messī'na, crusaders at, 133, 134.
Methodists, 389.
Metropolitan, ecclesiastical, 81.
Met'ter-nich (-nĭĸ), Prince, 499, 500, 505, 507, 521, 522,
Metz, 296, 338, 545, 546, 548.
Mexico, and Napoleon III., 537, 538.
Michael An'ge-lo, 275, 276.
Middle Ages, 11, 12, 281.
Mī-kā'do, 602.
Mil'an, 152–156, 294, 296.
  Austria acquires, 361.
  decree, 477.
  Napoleon and, 462, 463.
  revolt of 1848, 520, 521.
Milton, John, 382.
Min'nesingers, 158.
Minor'ca, 361, 417.
Mi-rä-beau' (-bō'), Count of, 441, 442, 444, 445.
Mis'si domin'ici, 36.
Mississippi Bubble, 411, 412.
Mitrailleuse (me-trä-yĕz'), 545.
Modg'na, 510, 536.
Mo'hacz (-häch), battle of, 295.
Moham'med II. of Turkey, 261.
Mohammedans, 23, 24, 28, 63, 116–119, 256, 257; *see* Turks.
  civilization of, 116–118.
Moldā'via, 580.
Molière (mo-lyâr'), 364.
Möll'witz (-vĭts), battle of, 405.
Mölt'kg, Count, 540, 544.
Monasteries, 87–89, 55, 314, 444.
Mon'gols, 392, 599.
Monk, George, 380.
Monks, 86–89, 130, 131, 217–219, 307.
Mon'mo*u*th, Duke of, 388.
Mŏn-roe' Doctrine, 505.
Mŏnt Blănc', 16.
Mŏnt Cg-nĭs' pass, 17.
Mŏn-tg-ng'gro, war with Turkey, 579, 580.
Mon-tes-quieu' (-kū'), 429, 438.
Mont'fort, Simon de, of England, 206, 207.
Montfort, Simon de, of France, 216.
Moors in Spain, 256, 341.
Mo-rät', battle of, 251.
Morā'via, in ninth century, 63.
Mōre, Sir Thomas, 314.
Mōr-gär'ten, battle of, 249.
Moris'coes, 341.
Morocco, 586, 609.
Mos'cow, 392, 395, 397, 481.
Mo-sĕl'l*e*' River, 17.
Mosųl', atabek of, 131.
Mountain (French party), 446, 448–451, 458, 455.
Mūhl'bĕrg, battle of, 296.
Mūhl'dorf, battle of, 247.
Mųk-dĕn', battle of, 606.
Mū'nĭch, 156, 336.
Mūn'ster, peace of, 337–339.
Mū-rät', Joachim, 478, 490.
Muril'lo, 341.
Mųt'sų-hī'to, 603.
Mysticism, 287.

Nabobs, in India, 419.
Năfels (nā'fĕls), battle of, 250.

Nan'cy, battle of, 254.
Nantes, Edict of, 312, 355.
  Reign of Terror in, 452.
Naples, Austria acquires, 361.
  Bourbons rule, 413, 490, 536.
  Charles of Anjou rules, 169, 221.
  France and, 255, 466, 477, 478.
  Frederick II. rules, 165, 166.
  Napoleon and, 477, 478.
  Piedmont acquires, 536.
  Pope and, 162, 169.
  rebellion in (1820), 503, 504.
  revolution of 1848, 520, 521.
  Spain (and Aragon) and, 255, 257, 290.
Napoleon Bonaparte, 456, 460–487, 515.
  death and burial, 487, 515.
  early life of, 460, 461, 456.
  Egyptian expedition of, 464–466.
  Emperor of the French, 471, 474–487.
  First Consul, 467–470.
  governmental reforms of, 468, 469.
  Italian campaign of, 461–463.
  personal character of, 487.
  Russian campaign of, 481, 482.
  Waterloo campaign of, 486, 487.
"Napoleon II." (Duke of Reichstadt), 514, 519.
Napoleon III. (Louis Napoleon), 515, 518, 519, 529–531, 535–538, 540, 542, 546.
Năr sēg, 23.
Nar'va, battle of, 396.
Năse'by, battle of, 376.
Nas'sau, acquired by Prussia, 541.
Nassau, Adolf of, 246.
Natăl', 570.
National Assembly of France, 441–445, 516, 518, 519, 546, 587.
National Convention of France, 447–456.
National Guard of France, 442, 445, 508, 516, 548.
National Land League of Ireland, 563.
National workshops, in France, 517, 518.
Nā-vā-rī'no, battle of, 505.
Na-vārre', 256.
Navarre, Henry of (Henry IV.), 310–313.
Nave, in architecture, 90, 91.
Navigation, 277, 499.
Navigation Acts of England, 352.
Necker, Jacques, 440.
Nelson, Admiral, 465.
Ne'potism, 270.
Netherlands, 323–325.
  Reformation in, 323, 325–330.
  under Spain, 257, 290, 323–330.
  See also below.
Netherlands, Austrian, 361, 448, 463, 490.
Netherlands, Dutch, *see* Holland.
Netherlands, Spanish, 328.
  Austria acquires, 361.
  Louis XIV. and, 351, 354, 357, 359.
New Zealand, 568.
New'foundland, 361, 362, 568.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 386.
Ney, Marshal, 482, 485, 501.
Nibelungenlied (nē'be-loong-ẹn-lēd), 158.
Nī-cæ'a, Council of, 84.
  taken by crusaders, 123.
  taken by Turks, 120, 260.
Nīçe, annexed to France, 448, 534–536.
Nicholas I. of Russia, 505, 530, 532.
Nicholas II. of Russia, 595.
Nicholas I., Pope, 109, 110.
Nicholas V., Pope, 270.
Nĭĕ'men River, 476, 481.
Nightingale, Florence, 532.
Ni'hilists, 595.
Nile, battle of the, 465.
Nim'wẹ-gẹn, peace of, 353.
Nobles, *see* Lords (feudal).
Nor'bert, Saint, 148.
Nörd'ling-ẹn (nērt'-), battle of, 337.
Normandy, 69, 70, 196, 199, 212, 242.
Normans, 69–72.
  in England, 196–199, 205, 209.
  in southern Italy, 72–74, 106.
North, Lord, 425.
North German Confederation, 541.
Northern War, 396–398.
Northmen, 48, 63, 69, 71–74, 193, 195.
Northum'berland, John Dudley, Duke of, 315, 316.
Northumbria, kings of, 193.
Norway, 28, 75, 334.
  union with Sweden, 490, 610.
Nōt're-Dāme Cathedral, 215.
No-vā'ra, battle of, 521.
Nôv'gō-rôd (-rōt), Hanseatic station in, 188.
Noyon (nwä-yôN'), 304.
Nunneries, 89.
Nu'rem-berg, 141, 186.
Nystadt (nū'stād), peace of, 398.

Oath of the Tennis Court, 441, 442.
O'Connell, Daniel, 555.
O'dēr River, 18.
Odes'sa, 608.
O-do-ā'cer, 22.
Old Sā'rum, 556.
Ol'mūtz, conference at, 526.
Omdụr'man, battle of, 583.
Opium War, 602.
Orange Free State, 570.
Ordeal, 195, 203.
Or'leanists (15th century), 239, 240.
Orleanists (19th century), 587; *see* Orleans monarchy.
Or'le-ans, siege of, 241.
Orleans, Duke of (Louis), 239.
Orleans, Duke of, nephew of Louis XIV., 411.

Orleans, Duke of (Louis Philippe), 508, 509, 513–516.
Orleans monarchy, 508, 509, 513–516.
Oscar II. of Sweden, 610.
Os-mān' Pa-shā', 579.
Os'trogoths, 22, 23.
Oth-mān', 260.
O'tho I. of Greece, 505.
Otto I., Emperor, 66–68.
Otto II., Emperor, 68.
Otto III., Emperor, 68.
Otto IV., Emperor, 162, 163.
Otto of Wittelsbach, 157.
Ottoman Empire, 423; *see* Turkey.
Ottoman Turks, 260, 261, 295; *see* Turkey.
O'wen, Robert, 517.
O-yā-mā', General, 606.

Palace School, 38.
Pa-lat'i-nate, in Thirty Years' War, 332, 338.
Pal'a-tine Count, 248, 332, 338.
Pal'es-tine, *see* Crusades.
Palfrey, 58.
Pa-mīr' plateau, 596.
Panamā' scandal, 589.
Papacy, 77, 83; *see* Pope.
Papal States, 162, 510, 520, 521, 536, 537; *see* Pope (temporal power of).
Paris, 215, 364, 530.
  captured (by Northmen), 49; (by French), 242; (by Allies), 484, 487; (by Prussians), 546.
  Commune in (1871), 548, 549.
  Congress of (1856), 532.
  peace of (1763), 420; (1782–83), 425, 426; (1856), 532.
  rebellion of (1358), 236, 237; (1589), 311; (1834), 514.
  revolutions (1789–95), 442–451, 453, 455, 456; (1830), 507, 508; (1848), 516–519.
  treaty of (1815), 490.
  University of, 92.
Parishes, 80.
Parlamen'tum of Italian towns, 149.
Par-lę-ment' (-mān') of Paris, 220, 347, 348, 440.
Parliament, English, 207, 564, 565.
  contest with king, 368–380.
  reform of, 555–557.
  supremacy established, 385–387.
  union, 555.
Parma, 474, 510, 536.
Parma, Alexander of, 328.
Parma, Margaret of, 325.
Par'nell, Charles Stewart, 563, 564.
Pas'chal II., Pope, 108.
Patriarchs, ecclęsiastical, 83.
Patrimony of St. Peter, 537.
Paul III., Pope, 296, 306.
Paul IV., 306.
Pa-vī'a, battle of, 294.
Pays (pā'e) lę-gāl', 513.
"Peace," the, 58.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of Paris, etc., *see* Aix-la-Chapelle, Paris, etc.
Peasant revolt in France (1358), 236.
Peasant revolt in Germany (1525), 293.
Pę-chī-lī', Gulf of, 603.
Peel, Sir Robert, 555, 560, 561.
Pe-king', 602, 605.
Penance, 80, 288.
Peninsular War, 479.
Pĕp'in the Short, 26, 32.
Périer (pā-ryā'), Cā-ṣī-mīr', 589.
Perry, Commodore, 602.
Persia, and Russia, 595.
Peter I., the Great, of Russia, 393–398.
Peter III., 416.
Peter, Saint, and Rome, 83.
Peter the Hermit, 122.
Petition of Right, 372.
Pĕ'trarch, 274.
Philip I. of France, 120, 212.
Philip II., Augustus, 214–216, 133–135, 202, 204.
Philip III. of France, 221.
Philip IV., the Fair, 221–224.
Philip V. of France, 224.
Philip VI. of France, 225, 229–232, 234.
Philip II. of Spain, 298, 310, 316, 319, 325–329.
Philip III. of Spain, 329.
Philip V. of Spain, 359, 361, 411.
Philip of Swabia, German king, 162, 163.
Philip the Good, of Burgundy, 240, 242.
Phil'ip-pines, 421, 593.
Pĭĕd'mont, annexed by Napoleon, 474.
  character of (1850), 533.
  grows into kingdom of Italy, 533–537.
  rebellion in (1821), 504.
  war with Austria (1848), 520, 521.
Pignaces (pēn-yās'), 176.
Pilgrims, mediæval, 119.
Pī'sa, 130, 131, 141, 186.
  Council of, 266.
Pitt, William (the elder), 417, 420.
Pitt, William (the younger), 450, 491.
Pius II., Pope, 270.
Pius VII., 478.
Pius IX., 520, 521, 549.
Plan-tăg'e-net kings of England, 200.
Plās'sey, battle of, 420, 568.
Plĕv'na, siege of, 579.
Pocket boroughs, English, 556.
Pointed style of architecture, 90.
Poitiers (pwä-tyā'), battle of, 234, 235.
Poles and Poland, 66, 162, 166, 301, 392, 396, 412, 413, 423, 424.
  Austrian, 423, 424, 522, 523.
  duchy of Warsaw, 476.
  partitions of, 423, 424.

Poles and Poland, Prussian, 400, 401, 423, 424, 490.
Reformation in, 301.
Russian, 423, 424, 490, 510, 537, 608.
Polish Succession, War of, 412, 413.
Polignac (po-lēn-yāk'), Prince, 506.
Pō-lī-tiques' (-tēk'), French party, 310.
Pŏm-e-rā'ni-a, acquired by Prussia, 400, 403.
Pom-pa-dour' (pŏn-), Madame de, 412, 414.
Pon-di-chĕr'ry, 418.
Ponthieu (pôn-tyē'), 237.
Pontiff (Supreme) or Pope, 100; *see* Pope.
Poor Laws of Great Britain, 558.
Pope (and papacy), 83–86.
and Charles V., 294–296.
and councils, 84, 266–270.
and Crusades, 120–122, 135, 139.
and Eastern Church, 109.
and Emperor, 34, 67, 68, 85, 96, 98–100, 145, 150, 152–156, 159, 160, 168–170, 247.
and England, 204, 208.
and France, 222–224, 354.
and Franks, 25–27, 33, 34.
and Guelf party, 147.
and Italy, 520, 536, 549.
and Napoleon, 468, 471, 478.
and Reformation, 288–290, 301, 306, 307, 314.
at Avignon, 264, 265, 294.
decline of papacy, 270, 271, 338.
election of, 102, 154.
Great Schism, 265–268.
infallibility of, 591.
powers of, 81, 83–86.
temporal power of, 24–26, 33, 85, 102, 223, 549.
Pope, Alexander, 428.
Popish Plot, in England, 382.
Population in Middle Ages, 188.
Port Arthur, 603–606.
Portugal, 256, 257, 341.
colonies of, 584.
France and, 466, 478, 479.
Postal reform, in Great Britain, 560.
Præmuni're, Statute of, 208.
Pragmatic Sanction of Emperor Charles VI., 405.
Pragmatic sanctions, ecclesiastical, 269.
Prāgue, 248, 331, 332, 522.
peace of, 337.
Prayer Book, English, 315, 317.
Premonstraten'sian Canons, 148.
Presbyterianism, 320, 376.
Presbyterians, in England, 376, 377, 381.
Pres'byteries, Calvinistic, 305.
Pressburg, treaty of, 475.
Preston, battle of, 377.
Pretender, Jacobite, 388.
Pride's Purge, 377, 378.
Priests, 78, 79, 80, 86, 92.
Prīm, General, 543.
Primate, ecclesiastical, 83.
Prime minister, British, 387, 572.
Primogeniture, 56, 199.
Prince of Wales, 206.
Printing, invention of, 278, 279.
Printing press, steam, 499.
Priors, 88.
Privileged orders of France, 435.
Procession of the Holy Ghost, 109.
Prŏ'kŏp, Bohemian leader, 258.
Prorogu'ing of Parliament, 372.
Protectorate, Cromwell's, 379, 380.
Protestant, origin of name, 295.
Protestant Union of Germany, 330.
Protestants and Catholics, *see* Reformation.
Pro-vence' (-vänss'), kingdom in, 49.
Provinces, ecclesiastical, 81, 82.
Provisors, statute of, 208.
Prussia (before 1792), 399–407, 862, 398, 413–416, 421, 423–427; (1792–1815), 446–448, 455, 475, 476, 478, 482–487, 490; (since 1815), 502, 524–526, 539–548, 589–592.
Austrian war (1866), 540, 541.
Denmark and, 526, 540.
Franco-German war, 542–548.
French Revolution and, 446–448, 450, 455.
Napoleon and, 475, 476, 478, 482–484, 486, 487.
Poland and, 400, 401, 423, 424, 490.
revolution of 1848 in, 525.
Seven Years' War, 413–416, 421.
Zollverein of, 524, 525.
Ptol'emy, geographer, 276.
Pŭf fen-dorf, 368.
Pŭl'tā-vā, besieged by Charles XII., 398.
Purgatory, 92.
Puritans, 305, 318, 369, 371, 374, 377.
Pym, John, 374, 375.
Pyramids, battle of the, 465.
Pyr'e-nees, 17.
peace of the, 340.

Quadriv'ium, 93.
Quadruple Alliance, 499, 500.
Que-bec', taken by British, 418.
Queen Anne's War, 416.

Rāab, 423.
Ra-cine', Jean, 364.
Railways, 497, 498, 529.
Rambaud (rän-bō'), quoted, 611.
Răn'ke, quoted, 310.
Răph'ā-ĕl, 276.
Răt'is-bon, 65, 141, 186.
Raven'na, 24–26, 33.
Ray'mond IV., Count of Toulouse, 122.
Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, 216.
Red-cross flag, 532.
Reform Acts, British (1832–1884), 556, 557.

Reformation, causes of, 286.
character in different countries, 301, 302.
extent of, 301.
in England, 313–320.
in France, 308–313.
in Germany, 286–299, 330–340.
in Netherlands, 323, 325–330.
in Scotland, 318.
in Switzerland, 301–305.
Counter Reformation, 306, 307.
Rḛ-gāle′, right of, 354.
Regular clergy, 86.
Rēīehs′räth of Austria, 594.
Reichstadt (rīĸ′stät), Duke of, 514, 519.
Rēīehs′täg, mediæval German, 259.
of modern German Empire, 589, 590.
Reign of Terror in France, 452–455.
Relics, 19, 92, 137.
Reliefs, feudal, 56.
Rem′brandt, Dutch painter, 364.
Rḛ-mū-ẓät′, Madame de, 487.
Rḛ-näźs-sāNçe′, 272–280.
influence of Crusades on, 143.
influence of Italian communes on, 156.
Restitution, Edict of, 334, 336.
Reuchlin (roiĸ′lin), Johann, 279.
Revival of learning, 273, 274.
Revolution, French, 434–457.
Revolution of 1688 in England, 384.
Revolution of 1830, 507–511.
Revolution of 1848, 516–527.
Revolutionary Tribunal, French, 452.
Rhēīmṣ, 83, 84, 241.
Rhine River, 17, 18.
Rhodes, held by crusaders, 131, 140.
Rhodes, Cecil, 584.
Richard I., Cœur de Lī-ôn′, of England, 202, 204, 133–135.
Richard II., 238, 239.
Richard III., 256.
Richardson, Samuel, 428.
Richelieu (rēsh-lyē′), Cardinal, 342–344, 335, 337, 347, 363.
Rīch′ẓen-gḛ-bīrG′e, 17.
Robber barons, 59.
Robert II., of France, 212.
Robert of Normandy, 122, 199.
Robert Guīs-cārd′, 73, 102, 106.
Robertians, 44, 70.
Rō′bḛs-pīērre, 448, 451, 453, 454.
Ro-çhĕlle′, 309, 312, 343.
Roger I., of Sicily, 73.
Roger II., 145.
Ro-jest-ven′sky, 606.
Rolf the Ganger, 69.
Roman Empire, decay of, 20–22.
See Eastern Empire, Western Empire.
Roman Republic (1849), 521.
Romanesque architecture, 90.
Romä′noff, house of, 392.
Romantic movement in literature, 428.
Rome, Commune of (1154), 152.
France and, 466, 478, 549.
king of Italy acquires, 549.
map of, 84.
Otto III. and, 68.
plundered by imperial army, 294.
Pope and, 25, 549.
Röm′illy, Sir Samuel, 557.
Rom′ulus Augus′tulus, 22.
Rōn-cāgl′ia, diet of, 153.
Rōon, Count, 540, 544.
Rōoṣ′evelt, President, 607.
Rōṣe′bēr-y, Lord, 571.
Roses, Wars of the, 242, 255, 256.
Rossbach (rōs′bäĸ), battle of, 415.
Rotten boroughs, English, 556.
Rọum, Sultanate of, 120.
Rọu-mä′ni-a, 580.
Roundheads, 374.
Rousseau (roo-sō′), Jean Jacques, 429, 438.
Royal domain of France, 211, 212, 217, 254.
Rudolph I., Emperor, 246.
Rudolph II., 331.
Rule, monastic, 86.
Rump Parliament, 378–380.
Rupert, Prince, 376.
Rụ′rik, 392.
Russell, Lord John, 556, 560, 561.
Russia (before 1796), 392–399, 428, 424; (1796–1855), 475, 476, 480–484, 490, 499, 530–532; (since 1855), 579–581, 586, 594–596, 604–609.
China and, 604, 605.
Crimean War, 530–532.
expansion in Asia, 595, 596.
Finland and, 490, 608.
French Alliance, 581.
Hungarian revolution suppressed by, 524.
Japan and, 605–607.
Napoleon and, 475, 476, 478, 480–484.
Polish provinces, 423, 424, 490, 510, 537, 608.
Seven Years' War, 413, 414, 421.
Turkey and, 398, 423, 530–532, 579, 580.
Russo-Japanese War, 605–607.
Russo-Turkish War, 579.
Rўẓ′wick, peace of, 357.

Sacraments, 79, 80.
Sā-dō′wā (-vä), battle of, 540.
Sa-hā′ra, 584.
Saī-gōn′, acquired by France, 602.
St. An′gelo, fortress of, 105.
St. Barthol′omew, massacre of, 310.
St. Bernard passes, 16.
St. Denis (sāN-dḛ-nē′), monastery of, 54, 213.
St. Gäll, monastery of, 88, 87.
St. Goth′ard, Mt., 16.

St. Hĕ-lē'na, Napoleon at, 487.
St. Peter's Church, in Rome, 275.
St. Petersburg, founding of, 397.
St. Pierre (săn-pyăr'), Bĕr-nar-din (-dăn') de, 429.
St. Simon, Count of, 517.
St. Sophī'a, Church of, 90, 261.
St. Vin'cent, battle of, 464.
St. Vincent, island, 418, 420.
Saints, veneration of, 92.
Sakhalin' (sä-kä-lyēn'), 607.
Săl'adin, 132, 135.
Sā'lian Emperors, 98.
Sāl'ic law, 225.
Salĭs'bury, Marquis of, 564, 571.
Sālz'burg-ers (sālts'-) in Prussia, 402.
Săn Stĕf'ä-nō, treaty of, 580.
Săn-tī-ā'go, battle of, 593.
Saône (sōn) River, 18.
Săr'acens, 32; *see* Mohammedans.
Sardinia, 73, 361, 362, 533.
Sardinia-Piedmont, and Austria, 520, 521, 535, 536.
  Crimean War, 531.
  growth of, 533-537.
  Napoleon and, 462.
  rebellion in (1821), 504.
Sāv*e* River, 423.
Savo'na, proposed conference at, 266.
Sä-vo-nä-rō'lä, 271, 272.
Sa-voy', 362, 405, 448, 533.
Săx*e*-Co'burg-Go'th*a*, Prince Albert of, 559.
Saxe-Wei'mär (vī'-), 502, 547.
Saxons, 22, 32, 33, 35, 104, 191.
Saxony, duchy, 65, 148, 157, 248, 292, 296.
Saxony, electorate (1356-1806), 248, 292, 296.
  Austrian Succession War, 405, 406.
  Charles XII. and, 396.
  Reformation in, 292, 293.
  Seven Years' War, 413, 414, 421.
  Thirty Years' War, 334-338.
Saxony, kingdom (since 1806), 502, 540, 547.
Scharn'horst, 482.
Se*h*eld't River, 46, 405.
Schill'er, 429.
Sc*h*ism, Great, 265.
  of Council of Basel, 269, 270.
  of East and West, 108, 109.
  Protestant, *see* Reformation.
Sc*h*leȳ, Admiral, 593.
Schmäl'käl-den, League of, 295.
Schmäl'käl-dic War, 296.
Scho-las'tic philosophy, 94.
Schwyz (shvēts), canton of, 248.
Science, 118, 276, 277, 386, 550.
  Arabian, 118.
Scotland, and Charles I., 373, 375-377.
  Cromwell and, 378.
  Edward I. and, 207.
  Henry II. and, 202.
Scotland, Reformation in, 318.
  union with England, 368, 379, 387.
Scott, Sir Walter, 572.
Scū'tage, 202.
Sea of Japan, battle of, 607.
Sea power, 421, 422.
Se-bās'tō-pōl, siege of, 531, 532.
Second Coalition against France, 466.
Second Empire, *see* Napoleon III.
Sĕc'ular clergy, 86, 94.
Sẹ-dăn', battle of, 545.
Sees, ecclesiastical, 80-82.
Seigneur (sēn'yer), 51.
Seine (sān) River, 18.
Self-denying Ordinance, 376.
Seljūk'ian Turks, 118-120, 123-127.
Semit'ic races, 13.
Sempach (zĕm'päk), battle of, 250.
Senate, French, 484, 587.
Sen'lac, battle of, 197.
Sens (sänss), 54.
Se'poys, 419, 569.
Serfs, 55, 142, 177, 434.
  in Austrian Empire, 521.
  in Prussia, 482.
  in Russia, 594.
Ser-vē'tus, execution of, 305.
Servia, 260, 579, 580.
Service, feudal, 56.
Settlement, Act of, English, 388.
Seven Weeks' War (1866), 540, 541.
Seven Years' War, 414-421.
Shāke'spē*a*re, William, 319.
Shăng-hā'ī, opened to British trade, 602.
Ship money, in England, 373.
Shō'gun, 602, 603.
Siberia, 392, 595, 596.
Sicilian Vespers, 221.
Sicily, Austria acquires, 362.
  Bourbon rule, 413.
  Charles of Anjou rules, 168, 221.
  Frederick II. rules, 165, 166.
  Mohammedans (Saracens) in, 63, 72, 73
  Normans in, 73, 74, 145.
  Piedmont acquires, 536.
  Pope and, 145, 162, 168.
  revolution of 1848, 520, 521.
  Spain (and Aragon) and, 221, 290.
  See also Naples.
Sieyès (se-yĕs'), Count, 441, 467.
Sĭg'ismund, Emperor, 257, 258, 267.
Sigismund of Poland, 335.
Sī-lē'si-an (-shī-an) Wars, 405-407, 414.
Sĭm'e-ŏn Stȳ-lī'tēs, 87.
Sĭm'ony, 94, 98, 99.
Sim'plon pass, 16, 17.
Slavery, abolished in British Empire, 558.
Slāvs, 13, 27, 63; *see* Russia and Poland.
  German conquest of, 66, 148, 156.
  in Austrian Empire, 521-523.

Slĕs'wick-Hōl'stein, 526, 540, 541.
Sluys (slois), battle of, 280.
Smith, Adam, 428.
Smolensk (små-lyĕnsk'), battle of, 481.
Socialism, 516–518, 589, 591, 592.
Sŏl-fĕ-rī'no, battle of, 536.
Sŏm'erset, Duke of, 315.
South Africa, 570, 571, 584.
South Sea Bubble, 412.
Spain (before 1510), 256–258, 262; (17th century), 340, 341; (since 1814), 508, 592, 593.
American War (1779–1783), 425, 426.
art of, 341.
Austrian Succession War, 405, 406.
Bourbons acquire, 359.
Charles V. (Emperor) rules, 290, 294, 298.
church reform in, 271.
colonies of, 420, 421, 504, 584, 593.
England attacked by, 319.
literature of, 341.
Louis XIV. and, 353, 359.
Mohammedans in, 24, 75, 256.
Napoleon and, 478, 479.
Netherlands and, 323–330, 361.
reaction in (1814–1823), 503.
Seven Years' War, 418, 420, 421.
Thirty Years' War, 332, 337.
Visigoths in, 21.
Spanish Fury at Antwerp, 328.
Spanish Succession, War of, 358–362.
Spenser, Edmund, 319.
Spinning machinery, 496.
Spīres, diet at, 295.
Stădt'holder of Netherlands, 328, 352, 353.
Stăn'islas Leszczynski (lesh-chĭn'skē), 396, 412, 413.
Stanley, Henry M., 588.
Star Chamber, Court of, 373, 374.
States-General of Netherlands, 328.
Steam engines, 497.
Steele, Sir Richard, 428.
Stein, Baron von, 482.
Stephen (stē'vĕn) of Blois (blwā), crusader, 124.
Stephen of Blois, king of England, 200.
Stephenson (stē'vĕn-son), George, 497, 498.
Stĕt-tĭn', acquired by Prussia, 403.
Stor'thing, Norwegian parliament, 610.
Strafford, Earl of, 372, 374.
Străl'sund (-zoont), attack on, 334.
Strass burg, 158, 356, 548.
Strelt'sĭ, revolt of, 395.
Stuarts, 368, 388.
Subinfeudation, 54, 55.
Su-dān', 583, 584.
Su-ez Canal, 529, 582.
Suger (sū-zhā'), French minister, 213.
Sully, Duke of, 312, 342.
Suspects, Law of the, 452.
Suzerain, 56, 59.
Swā'bia, 65.
Sweden, 28, 75, 162, 334, 396, 423, 610.
Charles XII. rules, 396–398.
Gustavus Adolphus rules, 334–337.
Gustavus III. rules, 423.
Louis XIV. and, 351, 353, 356.
Napoleon and, 475, 478, 480.
Norway and, 398, 490, 610.
Prussia and, 401.
Reformation in, 302.
Russia and, 396–398, 478.
Thirty Years' War, 334–339.
Swegyn, Danish king of England, 195.
Swift, Jonathan, 428.
Switzerland (Swiss Confederation), 248–250, 254, 338, 466.
Reformation in, 301–305.
Synods, 81, 305.

Tai'pĭng' rebellion, 599.
Tăl'ley-rand, 467, 484, 485, 490, 508.
Tam-er-lāne', 260.
Tās'mān, Dutch navigator, 568.
Tasmā'nia, 568.
Tauler (tou'ler), John, 287.
Telegraph, 550.
Tĕl-ĕl-Kē-bīr', battle of, 582.
Telescope, introduction of, 276.
Tell, William, 248.
Templars, 180, 131.
Tennyson, Alfred, 572.
Terror, in France, 452–455.
Test Act, English, 382.
Tetzel (tĕt'sĕl), 288.
Teutonic Knights, 130, 131, 400.
Tew'fik, khedive, 582.
Theg'ns, 194.
Thei'ss River, 63.
Theod'oric the Great, 22.
Theopha'no, 68.
Thēr-mī-dor', 452, 454.
Thes'saly, acquired by Greece, 580.
Thiers (tyâr), 515, 544, 548, 587.
Third Coalition against France, 475.
Third Estate, 181, 236, 441.
Third Republic in France, 587–589.
Thirty-nine Articles, 317.
Thirty Years' War, 328, 330–340, 344, 345.
Thorn, treaty of, 400.
Three Henrys, War of, 311.
Thurin'gia (900–1100), 65.
Ticino (te-chē'no) River, 535.
Tī-ĕn'tsīn', 604.
Til'ly, General, 332–336.
Til'sit, peace of, 476.
Time, methods of reckoning, 19, 20.
Ti-moūr', 260.
Tithes, 81.
Titian (tĭsh'an), Venetian painter, 276.

Tō-gō′, Admiral, 607.
Tō′goland, 584.
Tō-lē′do, 117.
Toleration Act, in England, 386.
Ton-kĭn′, acquired by France, 602.
Tonnage and poundage, 372.
Tonsure, 78.
Tories, 382, 387–389, 425, 492, 557, 560, 561, 572.
Tŏr′rĕs, Dutch navigator, 568.
Tortō′na, destroyed by Frederick I., 152.
Tou′l, 296, 338.
Tou′lon, Napoleon at, 460.
Tou-louse′, and Albigensian Crusade, 217.
Tournament, 57.
Tours, battle of, 24.
Towns, *see* Cities.
Trade, *see* Commerce.
Träf′al-gär′, battle of, 475, 491.
Trans-Siberian railway, 596, 606.
Transubstantiation, 79.
Trans-vāal′, 570.
Transylva′nia, 423.
Trent, Council of, 306.
Trēves, archbishop of, elector, 248.
Trĕv′ithick, Richard, 497.
Trial, modes of, 194, 195, 203.
Triennial Acts, English, 374, 386.
Trin-i-dăd′, 468, 490.
Triple Alliance (England, Sweden, Holland), 351.
Triple Alliance (Austria, Germany, Italy), 581.
Trĭp′o-lĭ (Africa), 586.
Tripoli (Asia), county of, 129.
Triv′ium, 93.
Trŏp′pau (-pou), Congress of, 503.
Trou′ba-dours, 216, 217.
Troyes (trwä), treaty of, 240.
Truce of God, 58.
Tsaī-t′ï-ĕn′, 604.
Tudor, house of, 317, 256, 313–319.
Tuileries (twēl-rē′), 446, 508.
Tu′nis, 140, 581, 584.
Turā′nian peoples, 13.
Tū-rĕnne′, Marshal, 337, 348, 353.
Tür-gōt′, French statesman, 440.
Tū′rin, 533.
Turkey, before 1796, 423.
  Crimean War, 530–532.
  Napoleon and, 465, 466.
  provinces lost to, 505, 578–582.
  Russia and, 398, 423, 530–532, 579, 580.
  See Turks.
Turks, Charismian, take Jerusalem, 139.
Turks, Ottoman, 260, 261, 295; *see* Turkey.
Turks, Seljukian, 118–120, 123–127.
Tuscan League, 154.
Tus′cany, 101, 478, 520, 521, 536.
Tyler, Wat, 233.
Tÿr′ol, 297.
Uit′land-ers (oit′-), 570.
U-käse′, 395, 595.
Ulm, 186, 475.
Ultra party in France, 501, 502, 506.
Ultramon′tane party, 506.
U′nam Sanc′tam, papal bull, 223.
United Kingdom, 555.
United Netherlands, or United Provinces, 329; *see* Holland.
United States, and China, 602.
  Concert of Powers, 586.
  France and, 466, 474, 538.
  Japan and, 602.
  Louisiana purchase, 474.
  Monroe Doctrine, 504, 505.
  rules as to privateering, etc., 532.
  Spanish War, 593.
Universities, mediæval, 92–94.
Un-ter-wäl′den (-väl′-), canton of, 249.
Ū′rals, 17.
Ur′ban II., Pope, 92, 107, 120, 121.
Urban VI., 265.
U′rī, canton of, 248.
Usufructuary tenures, 51.
U′trecht, treaty of, 361.
  union of, 329.

Vā′lens, Eastern Emperor, 21.
Väl′la, Lorenzo, 277.
Valmy (väl-mē′), battle of, 447.
Valois (väl-wä′), house of, 225, 308.
Vandals, 21, 23.
Varan′gian guard, 115.
Vä-rĕnnes′, Louis XVI. at, 445.
Vā′sā, house of, 334.
Vassalage, 50, 51, 56, 57; *see* Serfs.
Vassy (vä-sē′), Huguenots attacked at, 309.
Vat′ican, 549.
  Council of, 591.
Vauban (vō-bäN′), 349, 356.
Vĕg′ga, Lō′pĕ dĕ, 341.
Velasquez (vä-läs′käth), 341.
Vendée (väN-dā′), La, insurrection in, 450.
Vendémiaire (väN-dā-myâr′), 452, 456.
Vendôme (väN-dōm′), Column, 549.
Ve-nē′ti-a (-shï-a), 540, 541.
Vĕn′ice, art in, 276.
  Austria acquires, 463, 490.
  commerce of, 130, 131, 138, 141, 186.
  Fourth Crusade, 135–139.
  in Lombard League, 155.
  Italy acquires, 540, 541.
  Napoleon and, 463, 476.
  revolt of 1848, 520, 521.
  treaty of (1177), 156.
Vĕr-dŭn′, 296, 338.
  partition of, 46, 47.
Ve-rō′na, Congress of, 503.
Versailles (vĕr-sā′y′), 363, 441.
  peace of, 548.

Vic'tor Emman'uel, I., 521, 533, 536, 537, 549.
Victor Emmanuel II., 594.
Victoria, Queen, 558–560, 571, 572.
Vienna, besieged by Turks, 295.
  captured by Napoleon, 475, 479.
  Congress of, 485, 487–490.
  revolution of 1848, 522.
  treaties of, 490.
Vik'ings, 40, 63, 71, 72.
Vil-la-früṇ'ca, peace of, 536.
Vil'leins, 55, 56, 177–179; *see* Serfs.
Vil lenage, effects of Black Death on, 233.
Vinci (vĭn'chē), Leonar'do dā, 276.
Vinland, Northmen in, 72.
Vi̧s'igo̧ths, 21, 22.
Vladivostok (vlȧ-dē-vȧs-tôk'), 607.
Vol-tâ̇re', 429, 438.
Vosges (vōzh) Mts., 17.

Wagram (vä'grȧm), battle of, 479.
Walden'sēs, 216.
Wales, annexed to England, 206.
Wal-lä ehi-a, 580.
Wal'lȩn-stei̇n, 333, 334, 336, 337.
Wal'pole, Sir Robert, 389.
Walter the Penniless, 122.
Wän-dī-wäsh', battle of, 420.
Warsaw, 396, 510.
  duchy of, 476.
Wartburg (värt'boorĸ), castle of, 292.
Washington, George, 417.
Wa̤-ter-loo', battle of, 486, 487.
Watt, James, 497.
Weaving machinery, 496.
Wed'more, treaty of, 193.
We̤'ī-hai̇-we̤'ī, 603, 604.
Welf, house of, 146, 147, 156, 157, 162.
Welle̤s'ley, Sir Arthur, *see* Wellington.
Wel'lington, Duke of, 479, 486, 555, 560.
Wentworth, Sir Thomas (Strafford), 372, 374.
Wenzel (vĕnt'se̤l), Emperor, 257, 258.
Weser (vä'ze̤r) River, 65.
Wes'ley, 389.
Wessex, kingdom of, 193.
Western Empire, 22, 33–37, 40, 44–50; *see* Holy Roman Empire.
West'minster Confession, 376.
Westphä'lia, kingdom of, 477.
  peace of, 337–339.
Whigs, 382, 387–389, 492, 557, 560, 561, 572.
Whit'by, synod of, 191.
Wil'berforce, William, 558.
Wilhelmshöhe (vil'helms-hē-e̤), 546.
William I., conqueror of England, 196–199.
William II., Rufus, of England, 199.
William III. of England, 353, 356, 357, 359, 384–387.
William IV. of England, 553.
William I. of Orange, 326–329.
William III. of Orange, 353, 356, 357, 359, 384–387.
William I. of Prussia and the German Empire, 539, 543, 548, 591.
William II. of Prussia and the German Empire, 591, 592.
William of the Iron Arm, 73.
Wisby (vĭs'bū), and Hanseatic League, 187.
Wit'an, 194.
Wittelsbach (vĭt'te̤ls-bäĸ), house of, 157, 405.
Wittenberg (vĭt'ten-bĕrĸ), 288, 292, 293.
Wo̤lse'ley, General, 582.
Wo̤l'se̤y, Cardinal, 313, 315.
Wo̤rces'ter, battle of, 378.
Wordsworth, William, 572.
World's Fair, the first, 530.
Worms (vōrms), Concordat of, 108.
  Diet at, 291.
  Edict of, 292.
Wörth (vērt), battle of, 545.
Würt'tĕm-bĕrg (vürt'-), 477, 541.
Wy̆c'lif, John, 208, 209, 267, 274.

X, Y, Z affair, 466.
Xavier (zăv'i-er), Francis, 307.
Xi-mē'nō̤s (zī-), Archbishop, 257, 271.

Yä'lṳ' River, 606.
Yō'ko-hä'mä, opened to trade, 603.
York, General, 483.
Young, Arthur, 437.
Young Italy, 520.
Yṳs'te̤, Charles V. at, 298.

Zaeh-a-rī'as, Pope, 26.
Zis'ka, John, Bohemian leader, 258.
Zo'la, Émile, 589.
Zollverein (tsôl'fe̤-rīn), 524, 525.
Zṳ'rieh, joins Swiss Confederation, 249.
  peace of, 536.
  Reformation in, 302.
Zwingli (tsvĭng'lē), Ṳl'rich (-rĭĸ), 302–304.

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Half Leather, 528 Pages. Price, $1.50

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In Consultation with

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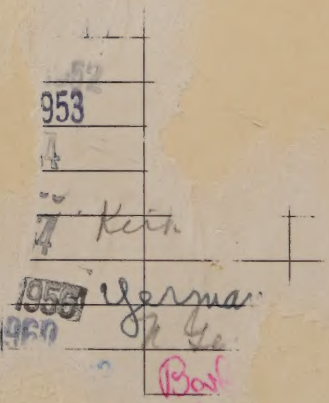
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